

**INSIDE: AN EPIC ARCTIC JOURNEY
A CASE AGAINST CROWN CORPS.**

Maclean's

MAY 11, 1987

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

\$1.75

'BREAKTHROUGH'

Behind the new constitutional accord



INTRODUCING TODAY'S CHEVROLET SPORT COUPE.

'88 BERETTA



1988 BERETTA.

Not just a new car but a new species. It's the result of the way that Chevrolet's changed, the way you've changed. Because Chevrolet's always going your way.

A DISTINCTIVE NEW SHAPE.

From nose to tail the stylish Beretta makes a unique impression. See it on the road and you won't soon forget. Drive it and you never will.

QUICK 2.8 LITRE MULTI-PORT V6.

With the optional 2.8 Litre V6, (standard on GT) Beretta can move from 0 to 96 km in less than 10 seconds. This refined Multi-Port Fuel Injection engine features a computer-controlled coil ignition and an electronic control module that can handle 600,000 commands.

per second. Beretta's sport suspension and a smooth-shifting, 5-speed transaxle turn that raw power into inspired performance.

A NEW LEVEL OF INTERIOR COMFORT.

The Beretta's cockpit. A world of aesthetic design. Watch Beretta's vital signs come to light as you turn on the optional electronic instrumentation. With a touch of your finger, you can even check your fuel economy or the temperature outside.



Beretta's built to such demanding standards, it's backed by GM's outstanding 6-YEAR/100,000 km Warranty.* It's a sport coupe for the way you drive today. Today's Chevrolet. Going your way. The new 1988 Beretta.

**TODAY'S
CHEVROLET
GOING
YOUR WAY**



*See your dealer for restrictions and conditions.



©1987 GM Corp.

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWS MAGAZINE

Maclean's

MAY 11, 1987, VOL. 30 NO. 19

COVER

Constitutional breakthrough

It took almost 10 hours of intense negotiations behind closed doors, but Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and the 18 provincial premiers last week reached a long-sought agreement that will allow Quebec to sign Canada's 1982 Constitution. The accord was hailed as historic—but already some critics said that it is no more than a mere step toward Confederation. The Mulroney government may have given the provinces too much. —Page 8



An epic arctic journey

The odyssey of five young Canadians is doubled over a historic Inuit route against their own adversities and the pull of Canada's spectacular Far North. —Page 20



A war between friends

Just after he arrived in Washington last week, Japanese Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone was struck by a painful blow—a tough new U.S. trade bill named at Japan. —Page 32



A case against the Crown

In his new book, *Uncanny Lure of the Moon*, journalist Walter Stewart chronicles and analyses what he charges are the unaccounted excesses of Crown corporations. —Page 44

CONTENTS

Business/Economy	38
Brexit	7
Canada Cover	8
Close-Up	5
Editorial	2
Film	32
Fetheringham	63
Lettres	4
Newman	42
Passages	4
People	31
Politics	44
Religion	54
Special Report	26
World	32



A more realistic character

In his new movie, *Street Smart*, Christopher Reeve of *Superman* fame plays a character closer to real life—an ambitious reporter who fabricates a story. —Page 51

LETTERS

Regressive fashions

When, oh when, are the great fashion designers of the world going to start creating clothes to fit the bodies women already have, rather than forcing women into unnatural shapes to fit their creations ("The supermodels," Cover, April 13)? It strikes me that a 16-year-old girl, six feet tall and still growing, who can gracefully bend, stretch, stretch and sometimes doesn't feel like eating dinner is in the same position as the ancient Chinese women who had the shape size of a five-year-old child ("A glimpse of beauty past and present," Art, April 13).

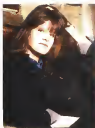
MARGARET MACGILLIVRAY
Berthel, B.C.

Ever since Monika Scharrer burst onto the scene, your magazine—under the pretence of serious journalism—has consistently added to the ridiculous hype that surrounds the teenager. Does Monika's really believe that Scharrer is "more beautiful, more alluring, more desirable than almost any woman most people have ever met or had even imagination?" The real story is to explain how a growing girl can survive as one model a day.

—ROBERT BARAGANO
Ottawa

Brave and skillful soldiers

Your article "Remembering Vimy Ridge" (Canada, April 20) crosses half the point of the Canadian achievement in the four-year bloodbath of the so-called First World War, this battle stands out as truly phenomenal for more than bravery. It was less than three years that the thoroughly trained Can-



Monika Scharrer: one mess a day

nadians had mastered the art of war more effectively than the professional officer corps of the leading nations of Europe.

—NORALD CANTLIE
Windsor

Highest and best

With 1986 attendance at the B.C. Provincial Museum in Victoria clocking in at 1,446,000 visitors, it would have been more accurate to have said that the Royal Ontario Museum was one of Canada's most popular museums, instead of the most popular ("A glimpse of beauty past and present," Art, April 13). How does one measure popularity anyway?

—ANDREA WELLS
Victoria

Keeping our leader happy

At least now we know what was in those trucks the Prime Minister was "driving" around Base Canada, Que., in his youth—Gucci leaders ("The tastes of the Metronome Society," Canada, April 27). I, for one, rest easier knowing he finally has a closet to keep them in.

—JOAN WOODWARD
Seymour Harbour, P.E.I.

It's all in the attitude

In her column "Coming to terms with Gerbachev" (April 13), Barbara Arndt expresses an attitude that can be seen as nothing but stubborn and disinterested. By treating signs of reform from Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev with skepticism and hostility, as Arndt does, there can be no hope of closer East-West ties.

—JEFF MARLOWE
London, Ont.

Letters are edited and may be condensed. Writers should supply some address and indicate whether they wish correspondence to be published in the Editor, Maclean's Magazine. Please include home address, 777 Bay St., Toronto, Ont. M5W 1A7.

PASSAGES

DESIGNED: Newfoundland Liberal Leader Leo Barry, 43, citing "an irreparable damage" to his image following a full-scale cancer reveal last month. The 14 members claimed that Barry was not committed to his job and did not seek their advice. A leadership convention is scheduled for June. Barry retains his cabinet as St. John's west. Standings in the House of Assembly: Conservatives 35, Liberals 15, New Democrats 3.

RESIGNED: IRL Fox, 39, special adviser to Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, after continuing criticism by Conservative MPs and party insiders about the operations of the Prime Minister's Office. Fox, who had served earlier as Mulroney's press secretary and communications director, was the fifth member of Mulroney's staff to resign, be forced out or downgraded within seven weeks.

EXPECTING: Canadian director Woody Allen, 51, and longtime companion, actress Mia Farrow, 42, who have made six movies together, their first child. Farrow had twin sons, Matthew and Sasha, ages 17, and another son, Fletcher, age 11, with conductor-composer André Previn before their nine-year marriage ended in divorce in 1979. Farrow later adopted five other children. Her first marriage, to singer Frank Sinatra, ended in divorce in 1966.

DEED: Pioneer Canadian broadcaster and CBC's first vice-president, Ernest Bushnell, 86, of congenital heart disease, on the way to an Ottawa hospital. Born on a farm in central Ontario, Bushnell held a variety of jobs in private radio and joined the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission, forerunner of the CBC, in 1932 to organize radio programming in Western Canada. He was director of English-language programming for the commission and the CBC, then left in 1969 to form Bushnell Communications Ltd.

SHIP: Longtime CBC journalist and administrator Andrew Cowan, 76, in Ottawa after suffering a stroke during a visit to Winnipeg. After serving as a CBC Radio correspondent in Europe during the Second World War and six afterwards, Cowan returned to Canada and became founding director of the network's Northern Service in 1966.

RETHINKED: House of Commons member Sammy (The Man) Macmillan, 61, who persuaded the house of Canada's most powerful politicians, including John Diefenbaker, Pierre Trudeau and Jeanne Sauvé, for 27 years. In retirement, Macmillan remains disquieted. Most diets, he said, "come to relax, not talk."

This phone has something you can't get anywhere else.



And a range of competitive financing options available to business through our Rate Stability

A new electronic phone system is one thing that will help your business become more efficient.

Getting it from Bell Canada will make sure it stays that way.

Because Bell gives the kind of support you need now, and in the future.

We'll give you a choice of phones that can grow as you grow.

Flexible options that match your exact needs. Reliable service when and where you need it.

Contract. Anyone can sell you equipment. Bell gives you reassurance. In Ontario call 1-800-387-4411. In Quebec call 1-800-361-2355.

Bell

Big business phones for small business.

MOVING? CALL TOLL FREE

1-800-268-9057

Even - 24 hrs. Outside Your Area

or at 596-5523 in Toronto

OR COMPLETE THIS FORM AND MAIL TO: LATEST & NEWS SERVICES, 1000 SHEPPARD AVE. E., UNIT 101, SCARBOROUGH, ONT. M1S 1B7

NAME	LAST	FIRST	MIDDLE
COMPANY			
ADDRESS			
CITY			
PROVINCE			

We don't believe first aid
should ever be second rate.

At that critical moment when
someone needs you, it's good
to know that Canadian hospitals
use more Johnson & Johnson
first aid products than any
other brand.

In the hospital, in the home,
Johnson & Johnson is
the first name
in first aid.



Johnson & Johnson

© Johnson & Johnson Inc. 1987

**NIKE-Air® IS NOT A SHOE.
IT'S A PRINCIPLE.**
NIKE-Air Technology.



FIRST AGAIN.

When runners push, technology gets pushed. And there's no trying how far that can take you.

The Nike Air Max is a running shoe. In the extraordinary sense of the word. It was designed for those runners

who, having experienced the cushioning benefits of Nike-Air, got greedy and wanted more. Lace it on, and the Air Max

instantly gives you three times more NIKE-Air® under the heel area. With every footstrike. So you can run longer with more cushioning and less chance of injury. But with the same control.

And the cushioning will never wear out. The Nike Air Max. The harder you push, the better we run.

FIRST AT SELECTED RETAILERS.

ONTARIO
Athlete Foot
Delisted Locations
Athlete World
Delisted Locations
Tobu's
Delisted Locations
Bookends
Delisted Locations

TORONTO
Sporting Life
416-463-3671
WICKESLEY
Laurie Sports
416-442-7912
VANCOUVER
Kerrich Running Ltd.
604-449-4400
VICTORIA
Dixie Sports
612-175-1911

SANCTI SPIRITUS
Bambino's Sports Centre
709-842-2015
SE CADILLANES
Action Sports Shop
514-844-6704
PORTLAND, OREGON
Portland Sports Centre
Delisted Locations
PEI
Vanguard & Sons
Sporting Goods
441-7055
Quebec
Sports Experts
Delisted Locations



DATELINE: PARAGUAY

Decline of a military strongman

He loves to play chess. In fact, Paraguayan President Gen. Alfredo Stroessner, in such a fondness about the game that according to local gossip, some of his political associates used advise him of where they are at all times in case he needs a partner. The ability to plan and execute a meticulous strategy has been evident

during the 33 years that the current military officer has ruled the landlocked South American nation of 3.6 million. Observers say that since he came to power in a coup d'état in 1954, the president has used strong-arm tactics and a wide-spread system of patronage to silence dissent against his dictatorship. But Latin America's long-reigning leader is now facing unprecedented challenges to his power. And along the quiet tree-lined streets of Asunción, the country's capital, and throughout the country, Paraguayans openly wonder what moves Stroessner, 74, will make to defend his military regime.

One year ago thousands of Paraguayans took to the streets to protest against the country's worsening economic conditions and the lack of civil liberties. And members of Stroessner's own Colorado party have begun to call for the general to step down so that a younger, civilian candidate could run in elections scheduled for April, 1988. But for many Paraguayans, the prospect of losing a leader who has brought stability is still clearly unsettling.

Stroessner, who has remained silent about his intentions, has stood firm in the face of rising opposition, relying on the police and the military for support. According to observers, on hand of the armed forces he has ensured the army's loyalty by allowing many of his generals to control the country's lucrative contraband trade in whiskey, cars and electronic machinery. At the same time, Stroessner has kept a tight rein on the 15-million member Colorado party, using it as a vast patronage network. Indeed, active or affiliated membership in the par-

ty is obligatory for all public employees, ranging from teachers to the judiciary.

As a result, despite the fact that the Colorado Party has split into four factions, many party members remain loyal to Stroessner. The powerful Ministry, headed by Marco Abilio Berling, Stroessner's private secretary, want the president to stay on. The civil tradi-

tion, after the dictator seized power in a military coup that spring. The leader of the Group of 34, meanwhile, is former interior minister Edgar Yashiro, who was in charge of the harsh system of repression that Stroessner used to consolidate his power during the early years of his rule. Yashiro, who brushes off questions about his direct involve-



Military units on parade in Asunción standing firm in the face of unprecedented challenges.

ment in human-rights violations, makes no apologies for his role in the regime's excesses. But he says that Paraguay's deteriorating political situation and the recent shift to democracy in most South American countries makes change urgent. "The government of President Stroessner has started to wear thin," he said.

As well, complaints about the country's worsening economy are now more openly voiced. This year, for the first time, the cost of servicing Paraguay's \$2.4-billion foreign debt may surpass the country's export earnings of about \$400 million. Basic food prices have gone up by more than 70 per cent during the past two years, but wages have decreased. The summer Paraguayans now earn about \$60 a month, down from about \$120 in 1984.

But the remaining two factions, the Rhine and the Group of 34, are actively lobbying for a return to civilian government. The Rhine are led by Carlos Romero Pereira, the son of the transitional president who officially handed over to the government to Stroessner in August, 1985, after the dictator seized power in a military coup that spring. The leader of the Group of 34, meanwhile, is former interior minister Edgar Yashiro, who was in charge of the harsh system of repression that Stroessner used to consolidate his power during the early years of his rule. Yashiro, who brushes off questions about his direct involve-

Many Paraguayans clearly remain pessimistic about the possibilities for change in the near future. Critics charge that because patronage and corruption are so widespread, military and government officials—who benefit most from illegal profits—have no real incentive to improve economic conditions. "There is an hope of improvement, because corruption is the most important tool of the government," declared Pereira. "It is not only limited to politics, but to the whole level of administration in the country." Added Enriquez Riera, a wealthy rancher and former member of the Colorado party: "The illusion of a political spring is more distant than ever." Riera was among the Colorado members who resisted Stroessner's control of the party in the late 1960s, and he was subsequently forced out. Said Riera: "The government has only hardened."

Indeed, the response to the demonstrations in the spring of 1986 was harsh. Police and the military used tear gas, clubs and cattle prods to break up the rallies. Dozens of union and political leaders were arrested. Since then, Paraguayans have not engaged in open demonstrations and have instead expressed the need for change in private gatherings. But the army has even been called out to keep those from taking place recently the military thwarted efforts by



Stroessner establishes rule and a vast patronage network

Colorado dissidents to hold a private party by surrounding the house and denying entry to guests.

At the same time, many Paraguayans seem unconvinced by the idea of an alternative to Stroessner. "In Paraguay we only have one leader," said Lorenzo Rodriguez Rodriguez, who operates a woolenizing business near Coronel Oviedo, about 130 km east of Asunción. "He has given us peace and a country without communism."

Indeed, before Stroessner assumed power, the country had lived through seven years of civil war and a string of coups and counter-coups. And Stroessner is credited with bringing about many improvements in Paraguay, including the construction of hundreds of schools, community clinics and roads, and the extension of electricity to the homes of thousands of peasants.

But Stroessner's age alone ensures that the debate over the country's future will grow more heated. Many critics say that an orderly change will only be possible if Stroessner acts in an enlightened manner. His most astute move may be to leave peaceful resignation. "Stroessner is the key," said Tzafraia. "He needs him to provide an opening. Then the country could come out winning—and so could he."

—KATHRYN LEEGER in Asunción

FOLLOW-UP

Babylon's new glory

In new computer images of ancient splendors, for 1,500 years Babylon, the seat of power of the Babylonian empire in ancient Mesopotamia, was one of the most powerful cities of antiquity. The setting for the story of Daniel and the lion's den in the Bible, Babylon was also the site of the Tower of Babel and the Hanging Gardens—one of the seven wonders of the ancient world. But over the centuries Babylon was reduced to rubble, the result of plundering and the demands of local people for building materials.

But since October, 1985, a new Babylon has been emerging. Despite the nation's seamy war with Iraq, the Iraqi government is spending millions of dollars on a huge reconstruction of the fallen city, which lies 88 km south of the Iraqi capital of Baghdad. "We have an open budget," said Adnan George Tokhais, field director for the Babylon project. "It is the government's policy to reinforce the project despite the war with Iraq. It is intended to be a symbol of the greatness of the Mesopotamians people."



Rebuilding Babylon's ancient boast

Indeed, some modern Iraqis claim that they are directly descended from the Mesopotamians. Babylon, which flourished from 3500 B.C. until the reign of Alexander the Great—who had there in 332 B.C.—reached its zenith during the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, who ruled the empire from 605 to 562 B.C. Under Nebuchadnezzar, the city was administratively viable, and the population increased to several hundred thousand. Surrounded by a moat and two massive walls, the inner city featured brick-paved thoroughfares and imposing buildings, including the huge temple tower of the Shugratiat—commonly known as the Tower of Babel—and the palace that housed the famed hanging gardens. Now, based on ancient records, parts of the inner city are being reconstructed—a monument both to the government of Iraqi President Saddam Hussein and to past glories.

To date, about 18 million new bricks—made of mud as in ancient days—have been used to recreate some of Babylon's most famous landmarks. They include the Processional Way, along which Nebuchadnezzar's entourage marched from the palace; three temples; parts of the city walls; Nebuchadnezzar's throne room and a 4,000-seat Greek amphitheatre of a later era.

But Yekimias claimed that reconstructing Babylon has been a harder

Meetings for minds focused on success

- Skill development seminars
- Financial seminars
- Conferences on national issues
- Conference planning
- In-house seminars

Financial Post Conferences—part of The Financial Post's family of quality services, providing you with the advantage of up-to-the-minute business intelligence.

For a schedule of upcoming events call
(416) 590-5661

Maclean Hunter Building, 777 Bay Street,
Toronto, Canada M5W 1A7

**Financial Post
CONFERENCES**

**ENTREE
premiere**
ONE OF THE
REASONS FOR TRAVELLING

Entree Premiere is one of three levels of hospitality designed by CN Hotels to accommodate your individual travel needs. Entree Premiere is economical, yet above the usual. Whether travelling on business, attending a convention or for leisure, you need not compromise your favourite downtown address.

CN Hotels' Entree service is also available at our First Class service. Entree Gold and our new Entree Diamond service. Entree Silver. Only CN Hotels bring you three choices at once. Because downtown addresses.

CN Hotels' Entree service is also available at our First Class service. Entree Gold and our new Entree Diamond service. Entree Silver. Only CN Hotels bring you three choices at once. Because downtown addresses.

CN Hotels

We're changing

THE ADVANTAGE OF KNOWING WHERE TO STAY

Wholesale Hotel Network • Junior • Super Park Lodge • Executive • Hotel Macdonald (TSE) • Toronto • L.M.H. • CN Tower • Ottawa • Chicago Capital • Las Vegas • Montreal • Miami • The Grand Elizabeth • Toronto • Hotel Newmarket • Hotel Grand Victoria • St. John's • Hotel Newfoundland • Paris • France • Hotel de Ville



together, through consensus

Take electronic equipment like compact disc players, stereos and television sets, for instance. Our first objective is to get together to determine the requirements that will prevent any possible faults which might lead to fire, shock or explosion. Once requirements have been set, we then proceed to rigorous testing. If there are any 'bugs' we'll find them. Happily, we rarely do.

Whether it's 'bugs' in anything from ladders to bottle caps, from roll bars to wood burning stoves, the Canadian Standards Association is at the service of Canadian manufacturers, consumers, industry and government to help deliver safer, more reliable products and services.

If you as an individual or your company or association have a 'bug' in search of a solution or an idea in need of a hearing, talk to us. We're here to help. There's a CSA office in

We also flush thoughts out of toilets.

You may be asking yourself "What possible 'bugs' could there be with something as simple as a toilet?" Funny, that's precisely the same question we at the Canadian Standards Association ask ourselves everytime we're asked to test one. "What possible 'bugs' could there be?" We then subject plastic sur-

faces to 12,000 scrubblings, metal fixtures to 96 hours of salt water spray and toilet bowls to the continuous flushing of a ping-pong ball until we get our answers.

But while testing is a large and visible part of what we do, it is the spirit in which we work, the behind the scenes cooperation, that sets us

apart from any other similar organization anywhere in the world. We're proud of the work we do and of the way we work. We are neither a watchdog nor a policeman. We are, rather, a national organization created, financed and run by representatives of all groups concerned and all concerned groups. We work

Moncton, Montreal, Winnipeg, Edmonton, Vancouver and Toronto. Call us today. And we'll work things out. Together.

**Canadian
Standards** 
*Assessing the
Quality of Life*

Put us to the test.

task than building it in the first place. Since the decline of Babylon, beginning in about 315 B.C., most of the archaeological evidence had been destroyed or removed. In fact, many of the houses in the nearby towns of Hillah have been constructed with ancient materials taken from the ruins.

As a result, the glories of Babylon were reduced to little more than earth-covered mounds. The Tower of Babel is nothing but a depression in the ground and the hanging gardens have long since disappeared. Many artifacts have been taken to Europe by foreign archaeologists, and the Iraqis have been negotiating with little success to get them back. Most of the famous Ishtar coin, with its white and gold animal figures on a gilded blue background, is now in East Berlin, having been taken from Iraq earlier in the century.

Still, the site has proved rich in inscribed tablets that provide details of the original measurements of some of the buildings. As well, German archaeologists, who excavated Babylon for 17 years before the First World War, drew up detailed plans and, based on archaeological evidence, made drawings of the city's principal buildings as they must have looked. These plans and illustrations are now being used in the current project. And although the scheduled work is only half completed, the Iraqi government still intends to hold an international festival at the site in October to commemorate the glory of the ancient city.

But in its efforts to rebuild Babylon and boost Iraqi morale in the war against Iran, the Iraqi government has recently seized certain historical facts from official Iraqi archaeological works. One of these was the capture of Babylon in the sixth century B.C. by Persian forces—the ancestors of modern Iranians.

In a biblical account, shortly before the fall to the Persians, King Belshazzar and his court were feasting and drinking from gold cups looted from Jerusalem when words predicting the end of the Babylonian kingdom mysteriously appeared on a wall. That prophecy—the source of the saying "the handwriting on the wall"—proved correct. Now, the reconstructed walls of Babylon are also marked—by the scrawled names and origins of foreign visitors from countries including the United States and Bangladesh. That graffiti defaced some primitive art objects. But compared to the biblical precedent, the modern writing on the wall is innocuous—and testimony to the magnetic blend of myth and history of one of the ancient world's most enduring wonders.

—IAN WATKINS in Baghdad

We've got the competition looking over their shoulders.



In a rapidly changing field of computer technology, it takes a startling breakthrough to catch the buyer's eye and turn the competitors' heads.

Introducing the Zenith Z-181, a viable example of PC technology with a twist. This powerful personal portable has a new backlit SuperTwist LCD that makes it one of the most readable screens you've ever seen. From almost any angle.

It delivers up to three times the character definition of previous LCD portables. Its brightness and contrast can be adjusted to defy almost any lighting situation from daylight to late night.

Now consider this: although it weighs less than 12 pounds, the Z-181 gives you both more power and more storage, with its two large capacity 310" disk drives. Each holds double the data of a 514" floppy.

Of course the Z-181 comes from a long, great line of Zenith products that includes monitors and terminals as well as micro-computers.

Their IBM compatibility and complete communications flexibility make Zenith PCs the choice of governments, corporations and

institutions of higher learning. If you'd like more information about the outstanding Zenith Z-181 portable PC, simply send along your business card or complete the coupon.

That way you can see all of its features without having to look over someone's shoulder.

NAME _____
TITLE _____
COMPANY _____
ADDRESS _____

POST CODE _____ TEL _____
Zenith Data Systems, 1733 Midway Avenue
Schaumburg, Illinois 60196 M M

ZENITH data systems
THE QUALITY DOES IT FOR YOU. 800. 635. 676

When it pours,
Red stands out.





EXECUTIVE CLASS

What makes Executive Class so good? The power of suggestions.

Before we designed Executive Class, we talked with hundreds of experts. Men and women like you who often fly on business. First we asked what you wanted on a business flight. Then we made a commitment to provide it.

Which is why, on Executive Class, you'll enjoy the comfort of a private cabin. Extra space. A wider, more contoured seat. An exclusive footrest. Excellent cuisine, a selection of vintage wines and beverages and an array of in-flight amenities.

As well as the convenience of advance seat selection, priority check-in,

boarding, deplaning and baggage delivery.

And an extensive schedule. With more than 225 flights daily to 28 major business centres in North America, Europe and Asia.

On your next business trip, fly Air Canada's Executive Class. Because what makes it so good is your suggestions. And our commitment.

Giving Business Our Best.



CLOSE-UP: KATHLEEN COBURN

Riding on a fast track

At least twice a month, 205-lb Kathleen Coburn breathes her 500 cc Suzuki into her beat-up 1976 van and, with her two large dogs, Bear and Kew, heads out into a man's world. The 38-year-old Toronto statistician is one of only a handful of women who compete professionally on the North American motorcycle racing circuit. Coburn is by far the most successful among them, and she routinely gives her better-looking male competitors a run for the prize money. Later this month Coburn plans to travel to Atlanta to compete against more than 200 of the world's top sprint, street, short-distance motorbikes—for one of the 30 spots in the U.S. Grand Prix Series road race "Atlanta is a big deal," she said. "All of my heroes will be there—and I am ready for them."

Because of the initial weakness of sex in the sport, the outgoing Coburn has worked hard to succeed. Two years after launching her career as an amateur racer in 1983, she had become the first woman to win a Canadian national event—and had worked her way up to third place overall in Canadian amateur racing. Since last April she has competed as a professional in road races and endurance series—longer races that last up to 20 hours—across North America and stacked up an impressive record. Last year Coburn placed in the top 15 in every Canadian race she entered—and in the top 20 in six U.S. races.

Coburn's consuming interest in motorcycles had an unlikely beginning with a childhood passion for horses. When she was eight years old, a family friend gave her what she calls a "broken-down race horse" that she stabled on the outskirts of Toronto. "Riding a horse is not all that different from racing a motorcycle," she said. "The balance is the same, and you feel restless and out of control at times."

That feeling can lead to disastrous consequences. During her first race in 1983 in Shamocville, Ont., Coburn broke a knee and cracked a shoulder bone. And her mentor and lover's boyfriend, Roy Hare, retired from competitive racing last year after a serious accident in Atlanta resulted in a dislocated hip and a broken hand and shoulder bone. Still, Coburn dismisses the hazards. "The biggest obstacle confronting her, she said, is financing. Despite her success, Coburn says, it is difficult to find sponsors who will help pay annual expenses of more than \$20,000—80 per cent of which comes



Coburn: a run for the prize money

out of her own pocket. "It all boils down to money," she said. "I have one wife and one dog, and I am racing against guys with several bikes and lots of financial support."

Coburn refuses to sell herself as a feminist role model—or as a piece of chrome. After agreeing to pose for the Toronto Sun *Scarlet Girl* series last year, she walked out of the photo session when the photographer asked her to trade her racing leathers for a swimsuit. And she also spurns speaking invitations from women's groups. "I am just not a women's libber," Coburn said. "I am doing this for me."

Still, the dysmorphic race acknowledges that the memory of her father, who died of cancer in March, also spurs her on. Coburn credits her parents with encouraging their first child to "grow up rugged." She added, "He understood why I'm doing this." Her male competitors were initially less understanding. "The first few times, these guys did not take me seriously at all," she recalled. Now, although her competitors still do not like to be beaten by a woman, she says that they accept her on the basis of her ability. "It was hard at first," she said, "but I have got their respect now. I think you could say that I earned it."

—ANN FINKLESON in Toronto



THE FAMOUS GROUSE
Country of origin—Scotland.
Noted for its character and distinguished appearance.

PARTNER SHIP.



Time for introduces its new ship.

It's the state-of-the-art Dash-8 and it joins the majority of our fleet of aircraft. A fleet that, with the addition of Maricopa, can now fly you to over 30 destinations across four western provinces. A fleet that we're proud to say is operated by one of the largest airlines in Canada.

The TimeAir Dash-8 is also a partnership. A partner in the worldwide network of Canadian Airlines International. A network whose spirit takes wing to more destinations in Canada than any other airline. And to five

Das zweite Semester

TimeJet and Canadian Airlines have one integrated schedule. So that no matter where you fly with us, from Victoria to St. John's, you'll fly with quick and easy connections. Air travel in Canada has never been so simple.

One Check-in, One Ticket

When you fly TrueAir, all you have to do is check in once. One transaction that will see you and your baggage through to your final destination. Now that's convenience.

One Great Frequent Flyer Program

Transfer is also a member of Canadian Plus – the best frequent flyer program in Canada. It's free to join and gives you free trips sooner. Free trips to any of the exotic holiday spots our worldwide network serves.

The One To Call

Whenever you fly in Canada, or around the world, there's only one airline network you need to call: Canadian. For reservations, call your travel agent, TimeAir, or Canadian Airlines.

Tyco Air and Canadian Airlines
a great partnership



TimeAir
Canadian Partner

Q&A: JOSEF SKVORECKÝ

An uncensored view

[illegible]

Maclean's: How did you come to

Knowledge: I can see only that I was

born with it. I started writing as a boy. I wrote my first novel (at least what I use as my first novel—it turned out to be a story of 18 pages when my father typed it up) when I was about nine years old. Then, when I was about 10, I became seriously ill with pneumonia, which in those days was very dangerous because

'In Czechoslovakia I was under constant surveillance, and everything I wrote was read closely by the authorities'

there were no antibiotics. I developed into a very introverted, sickly young boy. I started daydreaming and writing down the daydreams. It never left me.

Maclean's: What was life in Prague like for you as a writer?

Severson: Certainly it was not smooth or happy. After *The Cowards*, I was under constant surveillance. Every-

thing I wrote was read very closely by the censors. I was not even accepted into the Czech writers' union until 1968. It is so frustrating to know that your work will probably not be published—or that they will ask you to mutilate it and you will refuse.

Shannon's *How did the censors operate?*
Sources: In those days the censorship
after had very strong rules. If the editor
thought there were political problems with
it, he sent it to the printers and showed
the page proofs to the censors. But if the
censorship considered material that the
editor considered political, he would
send the manuscript itself to the cen-
sors. This happened to a novel of mine
called *The End of the Nylon Age* (about
social tensions at a postwar ball). I was
convinced that the censors would not
touch it, that they couldn't restrain their
publicity because it was pornography.
It was shocked, because it was so. But
there was absolutely nothing in it
that the censors would touch. The cen-
sor who had read it thought that the
word 'bosom' was an indecent word,
a pornography word. I was so mad that I
told her, 'If you want me to use a more
respectable word, I will use a more
respectable word.' I confessed the word.

Maestri's. Were there other, more subtle forms of censorship?

Slavovick: Yes, they used another

42ND STREET ON

LUST

As one of the baser emotions, lust is to be strenuously avoided in the quest for financial success. Like the lust for power, lust for pelf binds you to a narrow track, and turns you to malady.

Mail to: Wood County Inc., 4 East Green, P.O. Box 100, W. Beaver Springs, IL 61093

to be sure, but in 42nd Street's new success is chiefly an unwavering ability to place misadventure over misanthropy.

Shawn then the reward for
fortunes gained overnight, instead
gave a greater one over many
months.

Call 800-877-6622 or visit the website

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____

Zip _____

Phone _____

2ND STREET

A better avenue to financial success

method with *Miss Silver's Post* [a love story set in a state publishing house]. The editor called me into his office and said, 'Look here, we cannot publish this. As we will do a new edition of your detective stories—100,000 copies, first printing.' They simply tried to bribe me.

Maclean's: In those detective stories, which use the police procedural style while sneaking into a certain classist, and you deliberately hope to avoid the censors with a popular whodunnit?

Sivorecky: I do not think anyone writes straight detective stories—everyone makes use of the convention in part to poke fun. But these were written purely for entertainment. Burvok (the central character) is himself, I suppose, in the British or European tradition of rounded, developed detective characters—he has problems, he even falls in love. If Woody Allen were wiser, he could play the part. But these stories are not attempts at deep psychoanalysis, but entertainment—plus, of course, a little social commentary.

Maclean's: What happens in a national literature under censorship?

Sivorecky: I always compare the Czech situation to a hypothetical one. Imagine that a young Mark Twain were living in a slave state. Twain would get an idea for a novel about a boy named Huckleberry Finn, but he would be clever enough to know that the censors would never pass such a book because its central issue is slavery, a taboo subject. He would write his novel, but instead of using Negro slavery as his central issue, he would use something permissible, like a show that cats people should not spit on the floor. And since he was a writer of genius, the book would be funny and entertaining, but it would not be *Huckleberry Finn*.

This is precisely what happens to contemporary Czech literature. There are still a few talented Czech writers, but they are not permitted to address the central issues. The central issue of Czech society today is simply the fact that it is a police state—the police are omnipresent and omnipotent. A typical example was the arrest last September of the jazz musician Frigyes. Because you cannot charge someone with being too active, the government invented an

absurd charge of tax evasion. There is no freedom of speech or religion, of travel, but writers must not mention that. So they write little love stories and so on, some of them very nice, but so cut off from life.

Maclean's: Can there be no truly great literature produced under such a system, then?

Sivorecky: Of course not. Great literature always concerns itself with the central, the burning issues. Dickens didn't

mean that in his time. There is a clause in the law that if you don't make more than a certain number of copies—very few—it is not illegal. So nowadays the country is full of manuscripts that have been typed and retyped.

Maclean's: How many people have access to such typewriters?

Sivorecky: It is estimated that if it is one high school there is one copy of a book, in a month everybody in that school, including the teachers, has



Sivorecky: censored manuscripts, no freedom of speech and 'borders' as an impermissible word

write about the suffering of rich young ladies, though some of them surely suffered. But that was not the central issue of Victorian society. So he wrote about poverty, the mismanagement of tax, poor children, orphanages. In Czechoslovakia, this cannot be done. The figure of the policeman must always be benevolent and jolly. So what sort of a literature can you have? At best, skilful performances.

Maclean's: Although your books are banned in Czechoslovakia, do they have an underground circulation?

Sivorecky: Oh, yes. The situation today is very different from the situation in the 1960s, when there was practically no underground literature. There was no copying of manuscripts because it was very dangerous—you could easily be sent to jail for it. But today there is very lively underground publishing activity. There are several series, like the Padlock editions. But they are not printed. They are only typed with carbon copies. They produce about 50 copies from each typing. These are all signed by the author, and it is stated explicitly that this

read it, because it is forbidden fruit.

Maclean's: What is your role as a writer?

Sivorecky: I have always considered myself an entertainer, a popular writer. I never wanted to be one of those wise men who solve the problems of the world.

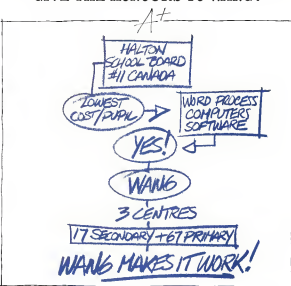
Maclean's: Most of your books are conventional in form—they tell their stories using traditional narrative. How do you feel about so-called experimental writing?

Sivorecky: It is very easy to break away from the old conventions, but what purpose do these rebellions serve? Only in very exceptional cases are so-called experimental writings any worth. Most of them are just people who want to draw attention to their unusual technique. They don't last.

Maclean's: What is it, then, that makes a work of literature last?

Sivorecky: The human story. If it tells a human story, and tells it well, it will appeal to people in various countries and various ages. The truth of the human heart does not change. ☐

WHY DID THE HALTON SCHOOL BOARD GIVE THE HONOURS TO WANG?



Halton wanted one of the lowest costs per pupil in Ontario through Word Processors. Computers. Software.

Yes they got it! Helped by Wang links from the main centre to three area

educational centres to connect 17 secondary schools and assist 67 primary ones.

Now Halton's in a class by itself. Because Wang makes it work. To test your needs call Wang. Halton Board did.

WANG

Call Wang at 1-800-888-7886

A new activism in the streets

By Fred Brunling

The President of the United States is not obligated to remain in power every time a band of angry American women marching down Pennsylvania Avenue, but last Ronald Reagan stayed close to home as the last weekend in April, he might have found the experience fulfilling.

As it happened, the chief executive was at White House in Maryland when some 70,000 demonstrators strided past the White House on their way to a rally at the Capitol. Evidently believing Mr. Reagan was on the premises, some protesters shouted their choruses of "Wake up!" in the general direction of the presidential sleeping quarters—a cry that was not so much political imperative as an attempt to make sure the government's highest-paid employee was out of bed and on the job. The hour was only 1:00 p.m., after all, and Reagan's appetite for sleep is well-known to be voracious.

What astounded the multitude on this occasion was concern about U.S. foreign policy judgments as they came to bear on South Africa and Central America. Presented in its simplest form, the message of those troding through the Saturday drizzle was that the Reagan administration is suffering from a debilitating strain of schizophrenia.

While, in South Africa, the White House suggests a regime that encourages dissent with stunning flexibility, Reagan seeks to preserve a questionable rebel movement in Nicaragua whose objective is not only to reform the existing Sandinista government but to throw President Daniel Ortega out on his ear. Since both positions—for Pretoria, against Nicaragua—are advertised as being in the larger service of democracy, it is no wonder that significant numbers of Americans support President Reagan. He has shuffled his own cards once too often.

U.S. policy toward the Sandinistas was indeed being an alarming confusion, a fatal lack of consistency, a hurray, some of global politics, but the President is adamant. Throughout his career as a politician, Reagan has demonstrated a peculiar instinct for focusing on the irrelevant, or the fantastic, or the convenient, while ignoring the actual and important. His obsession with Nicaragua is only among the latest examples.

Before he was elected, Reagan was

nightly assailed by Jimmy Carter's plan for the Panama Canal, you also remember Carter had the dangerous and radical notion that the Panamanians might be in charge of the waterway that slices their country in two, but Reagan saw things differently and sought to portray Carter's gesture as refusing. Also, Reagan was very, very vocal about the possibility of a balanced budget in those heady days before he took office. Why, Nancy and he hadn't the least difficulty paying their monthly fuel and phone bills, and Reagan saw no reason for the country to do anything less. Once elected, Reagan set about plunging the nation into such spectacular debt that recovery may not be possible until the 21st century. And yet we are instructed not to snipe. It is the thought that counts.

For sharp and caustic criticism, however, nothing outdoes Reagan's so-called "Star Wars" plan. Here we have

The thousands in the drizzle were among those convinced that Reagan has shuffled his note cards once too often.

the most powerful man in the world insisting, against the best opinion of the scientific community, that we can hang nothing over the solar system and beat it every nuclear as though they were a school of fish. Recently, panel of the prestigious American Physical Society said, with admirable politeness, that the President's plan was "highly questionable," and one member of the study group was bold enough to state, "I am 99.99 percent sure it won't work." Unfortunately, Reagan's reading of the situation is precisely opposite. Star Wars, says the chief executive, will render nuclear weapons "impotent and obsolete." So there it is.

When the presidency deteriorates to the level of a continuing Saturday Night Live routine, almost anything can happen. Take the scandal known as "Convergata" for proof. Here was an international adventure that Reagan, avoiding anything more than the bravado and the funding of the Nicaraguan "resistance" with questionable money. The mess was an embarrassment as much for its sloppiness

as its criminal potential, but what else could be expected? Early on, the tone was set when the White House decreed a Bible autographed by Ronald Reagan to Israeli officials and ordered a chocolate cake for the Ayatollah Khomeini. If this were done, assumed the President's crack foreign policy team, the leader of Iran would cease disturbing America in the Middle East, his own domain and be moved to host the Stars and Stripes in his front yard.

The protesters who trooped to Washington were suggesting in their own way that President Reagan may know as little about the American citizenry as he does the Ayatollah. Throughout the search, there were references to the demonstrations of the 1960s and 1970s, and at moments the scene looked as though it had been ripped from the network news archives. Twenty-foot puppets looked above the front Rainbow banners fluttered Peter, Paul and Mary sang "Blowin' in the Wind." The faithful exchanged peace signs and catfish and carried one another close, at last, this was the beginning of the end.

Now there is no doubt that the gathering was freighted heavily with nostalgia and that the rhetoric was as familiar as many of the faces. Periodically, the converted find it useful to hear the old sermons preached again. But it would be a mistake to underestimate the determination of the crowd or to assume that the march was simply a clear reason for peace. Peace whose full has gone sparse or who have been recovered the wonders of support here.

Conspicuously present at the demonstration, for instance, were rank-and-file members of oppressed labor and thousands of college-aged individuals. Thousands more are certainly conscientious labor chiefs who worried about Communist infiltration. The youngsters came because they are the children of people who walked down Pennsylvania Avenue 35 and 30 years ago and because there might be more intelligent life on campus than generally is believed. Perhaps it is premature to declare the doldrums of the 1980s over and announce a rebirth of social involvement. Certainly, we should spare Mr. Reagan the reports that people are back in the streets. That is a President who does not appreciate unending news. Shhh, then, everyone just let him be.

Fred Brunling is a writer with *Newsday* in New York.

France's worldwide ambassador.



Malrueny, Bourassa and other premiers during a break in negotiations at March Lake: "we really wanted a deal"

BREAKTHROUGH

The reaction, after more than nine hours of sometimes heated debate, was at once spontaneous and unanimous. While other first ministers and aides beamed, Quebec's Robert Bourassa clasped Brian Mulroney in a hearty handshake. Then, as Mulroney prepared to leave the closed-door meeting on constitutional reform with the country's 10 provincial premiers last week, the Prime Minister suddenly looked across the room, smiled and declared, "Now, gentlemen, we can go out there and tell Canadians their federation works." With that, the premiers burst into applause. After meeting for half an hour with their respective delegations, Mulroney and the premiers returned to their second-story meeting room at the federal govern-

ment's retreat at March Lake, Que., to announce their potentially history-making decision. Said Mulroney: "An agreement in principle supported by all first ministers has been achieved."

Partner: With that agreement, which is to be formally signed within several weeks at another first ministers' meeting, Mulroney and the premiers stand prepared to alter the way in which some of the country's most important institutions operate. The most dramatic change is that Quebec, which had refused to join the 1981 constitutional accord, agreed to sign the Constitution in return for concessions from Ottawa and the other provinces. That agreement, declared Premier Robert Bourassa, means that Quebec is "on the verge of becoming a full partner in the federation."

The province now recognizes its constitutional demand that the constitution formally recognize it as a distinct society within Canada.

But while the April 30 meeting overlooking the lake was called specifically to discuss Quebec's constitutional demands, all provinces will gain increased guarantees of their powers in several areas. Among the most important, newly defined rights of consultation in appointments to the Senate and Supreme Court, greater power over immigration policy and the right of each province to opt out of future shared-cost programs with full financial compensation. The premiers also won a guarantee from Mulroney to discuss further constitutional changes, including Senate reform, by the end of 1988. Said Newfoundland

Premier Brian Peckford: "It is, no question, an historic breakthrough. A new kind of time and tense, constitutionally and otherwise, has been set in the way Canada is going to go in the future."

In fact, the agreement was quickly criticized by some constitutional experts and politicians who said that the federal government had given too much power to the province. Said Stephen Smith, a professor of constitutional law at Montreal's McGill University: "I am being very farsighted as to the long-term implications of the concessions made to the province. This deal marks a major decentralization of power within an already decentralized state." Other experts disagreed. Said Jennifer Smith, professor of political science at Dalhousie University in Halifax: "The symbolism may be greater than the reality."

Troop: Both Liberal Leader John Turner and New Democratic Party Leader Ed Broadbent—after shaking hands with Mulroney on the floor of the Commons—offered cautious endorsements of the agreement. Said Turner: "The Prime Minister seems to have accommodated many provincial concerns. We will want to know from him what

the federal government not in return." Declared Broadbent: "I hope where we see the first print, our initial genuine pleasure will be sustained."

And on the other side of the table, Quebecers who have sovereignty for their province used strong opposition to the agreement, saying that it did not give Quebec enough powers (page 11). Said Pierre de Bellefleur, a former Parti Québécois cabinet minister who is now a leader of the pro-sovereignty Parti indépendantiste: "It is a trap for Quebec. The act of signing the Canada bill puts against the only option for Quebec: independence." And officials in the Yukon and Northwest Territories said that the pact would make it almost impossible for them to join Confederation.

Break: But much of last week's response was muted by near-universal surprise that any form of agreement had been achieved. Indeed, many provincial officials acknowledged that they arrived at March Lake last Thursday believing that there was little chance for success. Said Quebec Interprovincial Affairs Minister Gil Rémillard, a self-described pessimist before the meeting: "At times, it just seemed as though there were too many different opinions to ever be able to come to a consensus." Declared Decker, who had been regarded as an opponent of several of Quebec's demands: "Going in, I thought our chances for a deal were limited. But once we got there, there was an extraordinary spirit. We just discovered we had as many things in common as we really wanted to make a deal."

Creating that atmosphere was not easy. In the 30 days before the meeting, Mulroney telephoned all the premiers to solicit their views. He reached Prince Edward Island Premier Joe Ghis, whom Mulroney regarded as an important potential ally, as April 1—the day before the meeting—while Ghis was attending a Liberal Anti-rising dinner in St. John's's Church Hall in Yarmouth, P.E.I., said Ghis. "The Prime Minister said he was sorry to bother me at home. I told him I was not at home but in the kitchen with 30 women. Then I told him I had studied the proposal and I was very much on board."

And unlike the 1981 negotiations, when representatives of the provinces and the federal government stayed across the Ottawa River in Hall—out of touch

with other delegations—Bourassa deliberately had his four-member Quebec delegation, led by Rémillard and senior adviser Jean-Claude Rivest, stay at the more accessible Château Laurier in downtown Ottawa. From there, the two men worked throughout Wednesday evening and into early Thursday morning, telephoning other provincial officials to discuss Quebec's conditions for signing the Constitution. For his part, Bourassa made lengthy telephone calls to Alberta's Don Getty, who was regarded as a major opponent of Quebec's demand for a veto over constitutional change, and held three separate talks with Ontario Premier David Peterson.

Still, provincial representatives were near-unanimous in reviling Mulroney for playing the major role. Said Quebec's Rivest: "Mulroney did his job in a marvelous, marvelous way that was appreciated by everyone." In fact, the Prime Minister employed many of the same negotiating techniques that he showed some two decades ago as a successful labor lawyer in Montreal. Said one Mulroney adviser: "Brian did what he has always done when he really wanted to cut a deal: he locked the big guys in one room where no one else could hear them, and threw out everybody else so no one wasted time posturing."

Indeed, Mulroney kept his own team of advisers to a minimum, relying on Senator Lowell Murray, his minister of state for federal-provincial relations, principal secretary Bernard Roy, federal-provincial relations secretary Murray Specter, Quebec



Peterson's consensus

Senator Arthur Tremblay, a noted constitutional expert, and deputy justice minister Frank Iacobucci.

Bourassa was preparing for the meeting. Mulroney decided to follow what aides called his "domino strategy." He planned an assistant: "His trip to London off agreement on a couple of points early and see if the goodwill momentum keeps going long enough to sweep everything else along with it." Mulroney also told aides that he planned to do everything possible to avoid isolating any premier in an argument against his peers, saying, "You lose one guy on one thing and you lose him everything." To encourage Mulroney then arranged the agenda so that the most controversial points were discussed early in the day.

In fact, the first major stumbling

block did not arise until after almost five hours of discussion. After settling into a second-floor meeting room in Wilton House, the building frequently used for federal cabinet meetings, the premiers, Mulroney and two ministers ate a light lunch while they waited. They reached early agreement on Quebec's demand for joint control of immigration—something the province already has under the terms of a 1971 agreement between Ottawa and Quebec.

Under the new agreement, Quebec

premiers must agree to establish a similar provincial service. As long as the agreement program and federal standards, Ottawa would help pay for it.

By the time those issues had been dealt with, most participants said that they felt an agreement was within reach. Said Peckford later: "We had moved far enough to know we were going to come up with something." Shortly before a planned 4:00 p.m. break for dinner, the premiers began discussing what Bourassa said he regarded as the key to

In the end it was Getty, perhaps the least likely candidate, who helped break the deadlock. He developed over an acceptable amending formula. When the premiers were unable to find a solution, Getty suggested that they deal with the issue of Senate reform. Until such reform was achieved, he told the group, Ottawa would follow the example of the agreement on Reproductive Court appointments and name new senators from lists of candidates provided by the provinces. That breakthrough, a senior official said later, gave the premiers the impetus to tackle the veto issue.

The premiers finally agreed to a new formula requiring unanimous approval of the provinces for reforms to such federal institutions as the Senate and the House of Commons. Quebec won its veto—but so did every other province, regardless of size or political power. At the same time, the first ministers agreed to discuss Senate reform within a year of publication of the new accord, and to include discussion of rights over fisheries—another constitutional problem—at the same meeting.

History: After the dinner break, it took Mulroney and the premiers less than 70 minutes to produce the final form of their "agreement in principle." At 9:45 p.m., after congratulating the premiers, Mulroney left the meeting room and went to his third-floor office, where he met with Roy, Spector, Lachance, Breckinridge and Murray. After making a short statement to reporters, Mulroney and Roy returned to St. James Drive for a private celebration and a series of telephone calls to friends and cabinet ministers. Said one friend: "He was very happy, but very, very low-key. He was feeling a sense of history."

Both federal and provincial officials cautioned that hardliners remain behind formal ratification of the changes—and amendments to the 1982 Constitution Act, which probably would not take place before next fall. As one senior federal official warned: "We have to remember that we have successfully signed anything yet." But after a string of political problems in recent months, the agreement clearly buoyed the spirits of Mulroney and other Conservatives. More importantly, it also moved him within near-certain grasp of one of his most cherished objectives—bringing Quebec fully into Confederation. "Every great constitutionalist has tried, but it is Brian who has done it," said L. Ian Macdonald, Mulroney's long-time press and speech writer. "If he gets this through, it will be an achievement no one can ever deny him." It could be the last time that Canadians will live with for years to come.

—ANTHONY WILSON/STAFF AND MICHAEL ROSE in Ottawa and correspondence reports

WHAT BOURASSA WANTS

In November, 1985, when a major agreement on rejoining Canada's Constitution was reached, Quebec Premier René Lévesque flew out of Ottawa aboard his Z-27 government turboprop plane exhausted, exhilarated and near tears. The 11 other first ministers—in secret and without Lévesque present—had agreed on a formula for adjusting the Constitution and surrounding a Charter of Rights and Freedoms. But Lévesque's government could not accept the terms—and as a result, Quebec was the only province not to sign the Constitution Act in a rushed ceremony in Ottawa on April 17, 1982. In contrast to that bitter outcome, Premier Robert Bourassa and his officials last week left the historic Meek Lake negotiations smiling broadly—convinced that they had won a major victory in Quebec's protracted battle for increased powers. Declined Bourassa after the meeting: "Quebec is taking his role as a major partner in Confederation."

Demands: Bourassa had set five conditions for rejoining the constitutional fold: a formal veto in Supreme Court appointments and an immigration policy; limits on federal spending powers in areas of provincial jurisdiction; a veto on constitutional amendments affecting the province; and recognition as a "distinct" society. The Meek Lake accord met those demands at most entirely.

But questions were immediately raised about the long-term implications of what Quebec had accepted. Hardliners among Quebec nationalists attacked the deal as a sellout that did not adequately protect Quebec's language and culture. At the same time, some academics suggested that the agreement was dangerously vague in parts, and warned that "its real impact will be clear only after years of interpretation by the courts."

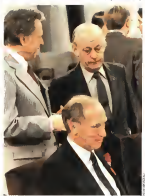
Federal strategists in the negotiations had acknowledged that Quebec's conditions were the maximum that Bourassa could sell to his province's voters. Indeed, one senior aide to Senator Lowell Murray, federal minister of state

for federal-provincial relations, told Mulroney before the conference began, "Bourassa had to go back with something significant on all five or he'd be blamed out of the national assembly."

On three of the five conditions, Que-

bec also pressed to the other provinces. Bourassa, however, insisted that this concession did not detract from his own province's gains.

Recognition of Quebec as a distinct society—the only part of the agreement that applied only to Quebec—proved the toughest problem for the first ministers, and may yet prove the most difficult for Bourassa to defend at home. Some provincial and federal officials voiced concern about the possible legal impact of entrenching that phrase in the Constitution on such issues as language legislation. They also questioned whether a future, more radicalist, Quebec government might take advantage of it to give French greater priority over other languages. But other observers said that the province was now vague to be of much value. Peter Leslie, director of the Institute for Intergovernmental Relations at Queen's University in Kingston, Ont., told Mulroney's staff: "It would be up to the Supreme Court of Canada to determine the true significance of the distinct-society issue. Said Leslie: "This is an invitation to the courts to draw whatever inferences they like over language policy."



Premier Trudeau, René Lévesque of 1981 conference, before

Swiss: For his part, Paul Gauthier, leader of the second as a very good deal for René Lévesque. He viewed that his political party would fight any move by Bourassa to have the agreement endorsed by Quebec's national assembly. Said Gauthier: "It is the future of the province that is at stake here." But the arrangement negotiated by Bourassa seemed similar to the new IQ policy of "national affirmation." Recently, Johnson has attempted to buck away from his party's failed separatist policies and called for a gradual assimilation of powers for the province. In fact, Bourassa's brand new last week may have had as much to do with outwitting Johnson as it did with the precise content of the accord.

—MICHAEL ROSE with MICHAEL ROSE in Ottawa and MICHAEL ROSE in Montreal



Premiers Mulroney, Galt, Peckford, Getty and Devine chemistry

will have a constitutionally entrenched right to participate in selection of immigrants coming to the province and will receive a guaranteed percentage of immigrants in Canada. The first countries also agreed with little discussion to accept the province's right to have three Quebec judges appointed to the Supreme Court and to give all provinces the right to submit lists of candidates for federal government judicial appointments. Privately, with surprising ease, the leaders reached agreement on the crucial question of the right of individual provinces to opt out of national programs in which they share costs with Ottawa. Federal officials later cited two crucial concessions from the province as the key to Mulroney's agreement on this point: the opt-out-on policy will not apply to existing programs, such as medicine, and any province that opts out of a national

will take his demand that Quebec be described in the Constitution as a "distinct society." Other provinces, including Getty, had publicly opposed anything that would suggest any difference in status among the provinces. But said one official: "If there is no give on this, then we will have to leave."

Deadline: As they approached the dinner break, Bourassa made a lengthy plea for resolving the phrase. Said Bourassa: "I told them that is part of what we need to feel full Canadians, and Quebecers very much want to feel they are full Canadians." Still, federal officials said that they regarded the break as crucial. Said one Mulroney adviser: "We were afraid that when they got away from each other, in the middle of their advisers and suggestions, the chemistry that had been established would be lost."

A day after making an agreement that is expected to bring Quebec into the Constitution, Premier Robert Bourassa reflected on the difference between his role last week and in 1972. At that time, Bourassa blocked a constitutional deal at a federal-provincial meeting in Victoria, despite a formula that effectively gave Quebec its proposed constitutional changes. The current Constitution requires amendments to be approved by seven provinces, representing 50 per cent of Canada's population—a formula that without Quebec gives Ontario effective veto authority. Bourassa was re-elected by Maclean's Quebec Editor Andrew Wilson Smith's *Seven* experts.

Maclean's: Was yesterday a very special day for you?

Bourassa: We will be able to talk about that kind of thing when it is all finalized. But it was a great step for Quebec and for all of Canada. I have always said that Canada needs Quebec, just as Quebec needs Canada. And now we will have a form of cultural security and guarantees that we have not had, so we have made important gains.

Maclean's: Do you have a sense of being involved in a historic agreement?

Bourassa: I never think about history, only the present. Of course, it is nice to get to this stage after coming so close some time ago in Victoria, but so always, I regard any economic gains we make as our most important achievements. It is clear that an accord is good for us individually.

Maclean's: Do you consider this accord as bestowing a form of special status on Quebec?

Bourassa: I would not wish to engage in a debate of such concepts. But we can say that the distinct character of Quebec has now been recognized, and that in itself is very important for us.

Maclean's: Do you interpret the accord's reference to a "distinct society" as having particular legal significance?

Bourassa: It is possible that yes, it could



Bourassa arriving for Maclean's meeting, getting what he asked for

'A GREAT STEP FOR QUEBEC'

have some such significance, although I cannot now specify what form that might take.

Maclean's: Going into the meeting, were you optimistic about the chances for an accord?

Bourassa: I thought there was a good chance. Our proposals were important, substantial and responsible, and I thought they would be treated with respect. But I was, of course, aware that there was a possibility that we might face opposition.

Maclean's: Is this one of your most important actions as a politician?

Bourassa: Certainly—or at least it will be when it is complete. We have restored

Quebec's role, achieved powers we did not have before and made clear our place in Canada.

Maclean's: Did you make any significant concessions during negotiations before and during the meeting?

Bourassa: Not really. Of course, I would have preferred the Victoria formula for amendments, but as I have said, the fact remains we have given Quebec back the right of veto, and we got what we were asking for.

Maclean's: What was the turning point leading to an agreement?

Bourassa: There are a number of factors, but I must particularly cite the work of Mr. Mulroney and of Mr. Peterson. Mr. Mulroney showed great political leadership and a tremendous understanding of Quebec, which he coupled with his obvious technical skill as a negotiator. And Mr. Peterson's role was crucial. Because of Ontario's population, he is the only premier with a veto at present. Yet he was a leader in urging accommodation in this field and behaved with concern for everyone's interests.

Maclean's: What is the timetable now within Quebec for dealing with the Constitution?

Bourassa: We will establish a legislative committee in the middle of May, and, of course, we will be back for the formal conference of the premiers.

Then, I would expect to introduce a resolution of support in the national assembly, either in the fall or perhaps before the present session ends at the end of June.

Maclean's: Do you anticipate significant political opposition within the province?

Bourassa: No. I think most Quebecers understand this is going to strengthen us, and the only reaction is that the population supports it. The only one complaining is Parti Québécois leader Pierre Marc Johnson, and he, of course, is in a wild guess because he is in the middle of losing control of his party, so he complains about everything he can.

Edamgouda reason to try Maasdam.



Maasdam is a type of cheese from Holland. And we have Edamgouda reason why we think you'll like it. Edam and Gouda. The world's favourite Dutch cheeses. We think you'll like Maasdam every bit as much. It has a sensational light, nutty taste and a rich texture. And with its large holes, or "shiny eyes" as they're often called, it's easy to spot. Maasdam. Dammgoud.

HOLLAND
IMPORTED CHEESE

PREPARING FOR A NEW SENATE

Few months Alberta Premier Don Getty had agreed for reform of the Senate, arguing that western interests were being trampled by the central Canadian majority in the upper chamber. Getty even made reform a condition of his co-operation in the federal-provincial constitutional conference last week. Then, when the meeting at Meech Lake, Que., ended, he intended with quiet anticipation as Prime Minister Brian Mulroney declared that a few commitments to Senate reform were part of the deal to get Quebec's signature on the Constitution. Pleased with declining popularity at home, Getty had staked his reputation on winning the referendum. As he said later, "It was a deal-breaker."

Sluggish: Often criticized as a patronage postbag for friends of the party in power, the Senate has defied attempts at change dating back almost to its inception 120 years ago. Since 1909 there have been 17 unsuccessful efforts at reform. Even Mulroney, who along with Liberal Leader John Turner is on record as favouring outright abolition of the Senate, has followed past practice by revealing friends such as Montreal lawyer Jean Blain and Michel Goggin with seats in the 34-member chamber.

But advocates of reform say that the current attempt at change will be different. Mulroney, they contend, has already taken a significant step by giving up his prime-ministerial prerogative to appoint new senators, agreeing to select them in future from a list agreed upon with the provinces. Constitutional expert Jennifer Smith of Dalhousie University called the agree-

ment "the sleeper" of the package, undermining the old Senate system and clearing the way for reform.

The constitutional accord also includes a commitment by Mulroney to meet with the premiers within a year to discuss further changes. But some



Getty addressing reporters: the realm of probability

critics expressed doubt that reform will ever get past the talking stage. According to Liberal Senator Roger Pruthi, everyone agrees on the need for change—over most senators—but no one can decide what form it should take. Said Pruthi of the latest initiative: "When they really bite into it, they're going to find it's a lot tougher said than they think."

Optimism: Other observers also expressed reservations. Retired senator Eugene Forsey said that Senate reform has shed so much change of becoming reality "as my becoming Archbishop of Canterbury." The mass, no-

senate wants to relinquish power. As well, a stronger, elected Senate, Forsey added, would threaten authority of the House of Commons, whose members would never allow that to happen. On the other hand, a plan weak enough to pass the Commons would never satisfy the provinces.

Still, proponents of the latest blueprint for Senate reform were optimistic last week. Many Westerners said that Ottawa has not done enough to help them through a disastrous collapse of oil and grain prices. And they say that they will not resolve the attention they deserve until the Senate contains better representation from the regions. Their solution, the so-called Triple-E concept—which stands for an elected, equal and effective upper chamber. [The current Senate is dominated by Liberals, who have 98 appointees compared with 31 for the Tories. Five members are independents, one is a Liberal independent and one seat is vacant.]

Broken: Under the Triple-E plan, an equal number of senators would be elected from each province. The fact that the senators would be elected, the movement's supporters say, would give them greater political influence. Triple-E founder Bert Bevan, a farmer from Katyn, Alta., said that last week's accord has taken Senate reform "out of the realm of possibility and put it into the realm of probability." Added Bevan, "The outcome is no longer in doubt. We just have to work on the timetable now."

Still, an agreement to talk about Senate reform will not necessarily lead to broad endorsement of the Triple-E concept. Indeed, even among the promoters there is no consensus about what form the changes should take. Manitoba Premier Howard Pawley's New Democratic Party supports complete abolition of the Senate. British Columbia Premier William Vander Zalm does not want small provinces like Prince Edward Island to have the same number of senators as larger ones.

Ottawa Premier David Peterson said that the Triple-E proposal would make Canada's government sensitive to that of the United States. It would lead, he said, to a "government by special interests, where decisions have to be brokered back and forth." For his part, Getty said that he is willing to listen to other proposals. What matters most, he added, is that the first step has been taken. Declared Getty, "Now we've put it in the constitution—and it must happen."

—MARLENE THORNTON with HELEN CLARE, BUCHANAN, BROWN and ANDREW WILSON. STORY IN OTTAWA, CLARE ROOM in Politics and JUSTICE BUREAU in Toronto.



ESCAPE TO LIFE IN THE SLOW LANE.

Mercury outboards have always been known for their exhilarating speed and performance. Yet, we haven't neglected those who appreciate the virtues of going a little slower.

ONLY MERC OFFERS ONE-HANDED OPERATION.

On the 9.9, 8, and 6 horsepower models, all major functions are built into the handle. Shift, Trim, Stop. And by pushing down on the filler, you can adjust the motor

to 3 trim and 3 shallow water positions, or full lift. It's a patented system, exclusive to Mercury.

LIGHTER TO LIFT EASIER TO START SLOWER TO TROLL.

At Merc, big things come in small packages. The 9.9, for instance, is about 30 pounds lighter than other outboards of comparable power.

Starting's a snap with our fuel primer system (on a click), which automatically

injects just the right amount of fuel.

And while they're known for going fast, these engines also can run surprisingly slow. In fact, you can dial down to a quiet 650 rpm for trolling, about 200 slower than competitive outboards.

So if your idea of getting away from it all involves a hook, line, and sinker, why not consider getting a legend behind you.

One of the toughest little fishing outboards from Mercury.

MERCURY OUTBOARDS

The death debate begins

It was a decider beginning to a battle debate. Eleven years after Parliament voted to abolish capital punishment, the Conservative government reopened the emotional question in the Commons last week. Not only about 30 of the 229 MPs were in the Commons for the event, and just 50 visitors watched from the public galleries. Prime Minister Brian Mulroney was conspicuously absent, as were all but three ministers in his 37-member cabinet. Liberal Leader John Turner compared the government to a "latter-day Lady Macbeth," attempting to wash its hands of the issue. "That is not leadership," said Turner. "That's playing games with an issue that goes to the heart of the conscience of every Canadian."

Indeed, the uncertain start to the debate underscored the government's ambivalent approach to the death penalty. Mulroney pledged to hold a free vote on the issue during the 1988 election campaign, and since then Tory backbenchers have urged the government to fulfil that commitment. But many leading members of the cabinet—refusing Mulroney's personally opposed capital punishment. The strategists also said that a lengthy debate

would slow the government's ambitious legislative program, including measures on tax reform, defence policy and pornography. Said an official in the Prime Minister's Office, "There are things the government would prefer to be doing, but there are not hell of a lot of people in this country who think [the debate] is an entirely

Only about 55 MPs were present for the start of the debate, underscoring the government's ambivalence on the issue

valid way to spend people's time."

Although Deputy Conservative House Leader Douglas Lewis said that the government would not risk a vote on the issue, pro-execution Tories say that they would like a vote taken before Parliament recesses for the summer on June 30. But the pressure of Commons business will make that difficult. By week's end, the government and the opposition had not even agreed

on when the debate would resume. An affirmative vote in the Commons would only begin the process of restoring the death penalty. The motion now before the House calls on members to decide in principle whether they support the return of the death penalty. If the motion passes, a special parliamentary committee will study what offences should be punishable by death and whether a method of execution other than hanging, such as lethal injection, should be introduced. The committee's report would form the basis of a bill that would then go through the standard three readings in the House—and another full debate. The bill might finally pass in the fall of 1989, but it would still have to win approval from the Liberal-dominated Senate, and a Mulroney's poll in March showed that a large majority of seniors oppose restoration.

Both Turner and New Democratic Party Leader Ed Broadbent attacked the government for reopening the divisive issue, calling the motion "loser hypocrisy," Turner said that the government could not absolve itself of responsibility for the issue by holding a free vote (under which MPs vote according to individual consciences, not along party lines). But the Liberal leader has not always been an abolitionist. In 1986, when he was a minis-

ter without portfolio in Prime Minister Lester Pearson's government, Turner voted against a motion to abolish the death penalty. Special adviser Michael Langill said last week that Turner's thinking "had evolved since then."

Both opposition leaders disputed the assertion that the death penalty would deter murderers and attacked it on moral grounds. "Capital punishment simply adds to the degree of brutalization that is going on in society," said Broadbent. "We need justice, not vengeance. We should encourage ED, not death."

In response, Tory MP William Dunn—one of the country's leading advocates of restoration—urged Parliament to respond to the public support for the death penalty shown in opinion polls. In an angry speech, Dunn said that he was "back to death" of hearing about the suffering of murderers about to be executed. Dunn resisted the brutal series of killings by Clifford Olson of Vancouver, convicted murderer in 1962, and he added, "What about the 13 kids buried along the highway out in British Columbia who were raped and murdered?"

But Dunn's cause suffered a blow when one MP who had previously supported the death penalty joined the abolitionist camp. Liberal Carol Ross, a former Montreal policeman, said that



Mulroney following his conscience

he had reached the decision after talking with his son and daughter, who oppose execution. Said Ross: "Let's find a way other than violence."

The next day former Conservative minister Jack Morin, who supported capital punishment in 1976 (his vote then was 330 to 124 for abolition), delivered a moving 20-minute speech against the motion. Most Canadians, Morin said, are the result of a "frustration, explosion of violence" and would not be provoked by the death penalty. In an interview later, Morin acknowledged that most residents of his Manitoba riding of Langer favor restoration, but said that he had to follow his conscience. "It's not so much your constituency you've got to go back and live with it's yourself," said Morin. After his speech, opposition MPs rushed to shake Morin's hand. Said New Democrat Lorne Nystrom: "We had a good feeling for the past 100 or three weeks that the tide is turning in our favor."

SIDS, surveys of MPs have shown that the motion has a good chance of passing. If it does, Parliament will be plunged into a long and bitter debate. And before it is over, predicted Lewis, the tide "will reach every Canadian."

—MARTIN GEE with KELLY MACKENZIE and DAVID ROBERTSON in Ottawa

MORE AND MORE CANADIANS ARE SERVING THEIR COUNTRY.

We're proud to say that we can fly you to more destinations in Canada than any other airline.

We've created a schedule that underlines our commitment to the business people in this country.

These are just some of our schedule highlights:

Every weekday we will have 31 nonstops between Toronto and Montreal and 25 nonstops between Toronto and Ottawa.

We give you the most nonstops between Calgary, Edmonton and Vancouver.



We now offer more flights from Prairie cities to Toronto, Ottawa and Atlantic Canada.

We're introducing the only sameplane jet service from Windsor and London to the West.

And we now offer nonstop service from Montreal to the West.

No carrier gives you more of Atlantic Canada. And we offer the most flights to the Far North.

With our partners, Time Air, Air Atlanta, Norel Air, Calm Air, Quebecair and Nordair Metro, we give you even more of our home and native land.

And our frequent flyer program, Canadian Plus, gives you free trips sooner. Plus a whole lot more.

Canadian business is expanding too.

Europass Class, the only business class in Canada without a surcharge, is now available to



most major cities in Canada.

Attaché, our renowned business service, is also expanding to link Ottawa with Edmonton, Calgary and Vancouver. Effective June 1, Attaché will be available on every Canadian flight between Toronto and Vancouver.

Canadian Plus members can stretch it in First Class on domestic flights or only 9% more than executive class.

The world is becoming Canadian. We're the only airline from Canada that serves 5 continents—

North America, South America, Europe, Asia and Australasia. We're spreading our wings.

further to include Rio and Sao Paulo.

In the fall, Beijing and Bangkok will become Canadian cities, too.

Call your Travel Agent or Canadian Airlines International and get into the Canadian spirit.

THE SPIRIT TAKES WING.
Canadian Airlines International

B.C.'s new labor wars

When British Columbia Premier William Vander Zalm was elected last October, he pledged to end the climate of confrontation that has existed in his economically troubled province in recent years. Not less than seven months later, Vander Zalm is involved in a showdown with the powerful B.C. labor movement. The issue: his Social Credit government's plan to revoke the pro-

vince's labor laws. Last week most of British Columbia's 20,000 teachers walked off the job in a one-day protest strike against government legislation that, they claimed, would undermine their union—the B.C. Teachers' Federation. Meanwhile, the 250,000-strong B.C. Federation of Labour rallied its members to fight a second bill aimed at preventing long strikes and curbing the power of organized labor.

Introduced last month, the bills were intended to persuade potential protesters that the province would enjoy labor peace. Now, however, many observers are saying that the ensuing fight may send exactly the opposite message. Brad Richard Allen, chief economist at the B.C. Central Credit Union: "If we have more confrontations this summer, the perception will be reinforced that British Columbia is not a good place to invest. I don't know how long it will take to live that down."

Bill 16, the Industrial Relations Reform Act, took unions by surprise. Under it, a new industrial relations commissioner, career civil servant Ed Peck, 62, would have extraordinary powers to intervene in labor disputes that he considered disruptive to the "public interest." With the cabinet's approval, Peck could arrange a settlement through either binding arbitration or the appointment of a mediator acting under his guidance. He could also compel unions to present a company's latest offer to their members. Those powers, critics argue, would all but destroy free collective bargaining.

Bill 20, the teaching profession act, would give teachers the long-sought right to strike, but require them to operate schools at the local level. Controversial membership in the teachers' federation would be ended. Principals and vice-principals, now union members, would be considered management, and a new College of Teachers would be responsible for disciplinary measures and teaching standards. Teachers' Federation president Elaine McMurtry said that the bill would "create a divided camp at the school level." The teachers followed up their one-day strike by refusing to supervise extracurricular activities in the schools.

Faced with the outcry from unions, Labor Minister Lynn Hanson said that he might amend Bill 16 to reduce the power of the industrial relations commissioner. But Vander Zalm offered little hope of major changes to either bill. "The spirit of the legislation will not change," he said.

The premier's determination to rewrite B.C.'s labor laws grew out of last year's bitter four-and-a-half-month strike in the province's forest industry. He tried to intervene then to arrange a settlement but failed—suffering a political embarrassment. At the time, Vander Zalm vowed that there "had to be a better way to settle disputes." But so far his attempt to stabilize the province's volatile labor environment has succeeded only in stirring up opposition that could continue through the summer and beyond—poisoning the climate of reconciliation that he set out to create.

—RANE O'BARA in Vancouver

The velvet touch.



Black Velvet. A distinguished eye in the best Canadian tradition.



Hit the deck. Olympic® Stain can take it.

A deck that's stained with Olympic® Deck Stain can take a lot of punishment.

Only Olympic Deck Stain has the exclusive Souff Guard® formula which provides a protective shield

against scuffing, scamping, and colour fading. Its unique combination of ingredients resist water penetration. And, it can be applied immediately, even to pressure-treated wood.

We've been protecting your dreams for a long time.

Paints and Stains
OLYMPIC®



AN EPIC ARCTIC JOURNEY

SPECIAL REPORT

Pitched alongside a sheltering cliff, the tiny camps on the frozen sea of Maxwell Bay in the Canadian Arctic was only a speck in the seemingly endless expanse of polar ice. Inside a pair of tents on the southern edge of Devon Island, five Canadian adventurers gazed at the halfway mark of an 1,800-mile northern trek to await the arrival of a Twin Otter aircraft bringing supplies of food and fuel for their 41 sled dogs. The purpose of the grueling journey to retrace the route followed by Quidlak, an Inuit shaman who led the last recorded migration of Ruffin Island Inuit to the northern coast of Greenland 125 years ago.

The campaign provided a respite from the -87°C temperatures and the physical strain of driving dog sleds across heavily ridged ice. But the day in late April was still in some ways an

unwelcome interruption. With each passing day the winter ice in Smith Sound, separating Canada from Greenland, continued to break up, potentially forcing the group to plot a path ever farther north as now they were forced to seek solid sea ice for a safe crossing.

Symbolism: For expedition organizer Renée Witnark and his four companions, the dangers of the trek were obscured by its challenge and symbolic value. Setting out from Igloolik on March 5, the group last week arrived at Grise Fjord, at the southern end of Ellesmere Island, Canada's northernmost land community. In the final stages of the 17-day march from Arctic Bay, the expedition had been traveling at night. The night sky in spring is almost as bright as in the daytime, but the snow underneath is frozen at night. "It is also a more beautiful time to travel because of the changing

light," said Ottawa photographer and wilderness tour operator Michael Beedell, a member of the expedition. While resting at Grise Fjord, the team planned the journey's next leg—north to Ellesmere Island toward Fim Island, where they hoped to make the crossing to Greenland later this month.

The purpose of the arduous journey was twofold. By recreating Quidlak's epic journey, the expedition members hoped to draw attention to the achievement of a little-known northern pathfinder. But they also viewed the expedition as demonstrating Canadian sovereignty in the Arctic, by underscoring the fact that northern routes across the frozen sea have been traveled by the Inuit for centuries.

Logic: That, in turn, supports Canada's contention that the arctic waterways—frozen and used like land for

much of the year—should have a special territorial status in international law. "We are not rich kids out for a lark," said Witnark, a former high-school social sciences teacher from St. Thomas, Ont., who fell in love with the Arctic from afar as a child and became a schoolteacher, first in Proctor Bay and then in Igloolik. Now he is a tour outfitter and breeds Canadian Eskimo dogs—a rugged breed used by the Inuit for centuries—in Igloolik. "We are explorers dedicated to traditional ways of travel in the Arctic who are proud to be Canadians and believe in asserting a Canadian presence up here."

Logic: In fact, the expedition took place at a time of renewed interest—and controversy—over the future of Canada's arctic domain. Since August, 1988, when the U.S. Coast Guard icebreaker Polar Sea sailed the Northwest Passage without Canada's per-

mission, Ottawa has sought to strengthen its claim to sovereignty over the region. Now there are signs that Washington may be willing to extend limited recognition—but only in return for freedom of movement for the U.S. navy in the arctic waters claimed by Canada. That prospect contributed to growing fears that strategic considerations could make the Arctic a future battleground. Panned with suspected submarines by Soviet—and U.S.—nuclear submarines in arctic waters, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's government now is considering the acquisition of as many as 10 nuclear-powered submarines for the Canadian navy.

At the same time, the Arctic's economic fortunes have been severely shaken by the international boycott of seal pelts and the decline in petroleum exploration and development in the re-

gion. Luckily, the slump has been partly offset by a resurgent interest in the North that is prompting growing numbers of southerners—including television advertisers as well as ordinary tourists—to explore Canada's last frontier (page 26). Still, the slowness of the Arctic's resource-based economy has also served to focus attention on Canada's social and administrative record in the Arctic—a record that some critics compare unfavorably with that of other northern nations (page 28).

Stark: But for Witnark and his fellow expedition members, their lonely journey provided an ideal opportunity to assert Canada's presence in the desolate but starkly beautiful region. One month into their journey, expedition members symbolically planted a Canadian flag in the heavily ridged ice of Lancaster Sound, at the eastern en-



A tea break in the snow; Mike Immarutok (below) commemorating a northern pathfinder while awaiting Canada's ship.

trance to the disputed Northwest Passage. Said Wosink: "It was our way of saying that this is a pretty important piece of real estate, and we have to stand up for it."

Few Arctic expeditions in modern times have taken on a physical challenge as severe as that faced by the members of the expedition memorializing Qqilarsuaq—the term means Qqilak the Great in the Inuktitut tongue. In a three-month odyssey the group planned to travel from Baffin Island to Greenland by dog sled, a journey that took Qqilak six years to complete. At times the trek has been nightmarishly difficult. Repedites members had to wade through their three 1,000-lb sleds across dangerous terrain littered with boulders and around 10-foot-high ridges of ice on Lancaster Sound.

Breaks: When the time comes to make the crossing to Greenland, the group will have to contend with the perils of shifting sea ice as the winter

cold melts and ice, in slabs six feet thick, begins to break up. And at all times expedition members have to be alert to the presence of the huge and lethally dangerous polar bears, which provoked fights with their dogs during the first half of the trip.

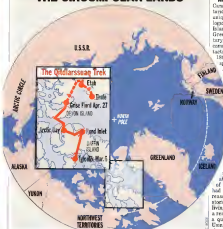
Trek: But the five expedition members are well-prepared for traditional Arctic travel. In addition to Wosink, 35, the trekkers are Brodeur, 30, who has travelled extensively throughout the Arctic, and three Inuit residents of Iglood. Then there's Bukema, 32, a former Arctic wildlife officer and a great-great-great-nephew of Qqilarsuaq. Paul Apak, 32, another of Qqilarsuaq's descendants and an Inuit Broadcasting Corp. tele-

vision man who is recording the journey on videotape; and Mike Immarutok, 18, a nephew of Bukema's and a dog driver.

The journey was conceived last summer by Wosink. He and his team subsequently raised \$36,000 to finance the expedition, with a \$10,000 grant from Ottawa, \$11,000 from the Northwest Territories government, \$15,000 from the Baffin Tourism Association and contributions from private Canadian organizations and firms. Said Wosink, a respected Arctic adventurer who has traveled widely in Baffin: "I wanted a commemorative trip that could be done by dog sled and that had a strong Canadian identity. The Qqilarsuaq



THE CIRCUMPOLAR LANDS



Expedition met both those criteria." Historian Qqilak's journey from the Canadian Arctic to Greenland had historical significance, but it was not unique. Anthropological and archaeological records suggest that the Baffin Island Inuit had been traveling to Greenland as far back as the 15th century, and the two groups shared a common maritime culture. Those contacts gradually ended in the 17th and 18th centuries, when severe cold spells prohibited extensive travel. According to anthropologists, the isolation of the Inuit of northwestern Greenland caused them to become inbred and vulnerable—to the point where they may have faced extinction.

In the meantime social pressures in Baffin Island had persuaded Qqilak to begin his journey. According to a traditional belief among the Inuit, the outbreak of a bloody intertribal feud near Pond Inlet, on northern Baffin Island in the middle 1850s forced Qqilak to flee from avenging relatives. According to another theory, Qqilak, as a shaman, or religious leader, had brought about the deaths of some members of the community and consequently had to flee for his life. Whatever the reason, Qqilak had apparently heard stories of a small community of Inuit living across the sea in Greenland. As a result, he turned his forced exile into a quest for his people's restoration. Using his ample powers of persuasion, the old man rallied 38 followers—many of them women and children—in just six months.

Back: Qqilak's long march was punctuated by peril and tragedy. After two years of harrowing 24 members of the expedition rebelled against Qqilak and turned back. But according to oral legend, Qqilak was a leader with "a flame burning above his head, so great was his might," and in the end, while he succeeded in leading the remaining members of his band across Smith Sound into Greenland. There, near Kulusuk, they met hunters from a tribe of Polar Inuit. The two groups lived together, sharing knowledge on hunting techniques, clothing and other construction. According to historians, that cultural exchange—and the new blood injected by the visitors from Baffin Island—may well have helped to prevent the fall of northwestern Greenland from dying out.

After six years there Qqilak decided that the time had come to return home. Once again, he set out with followers. But Qqilak died during the first winter. After battling famine and



Paul Apak working on sled, dedicated to the traditional ways of Arctic travel.

A FEEL FOR LIVING

As a boy of 11, Theo Ikummaq left his native community of Iqaluk and went to live in a well-known environment 140 miles away, where his brother Keno's nine-member family and two other families survived by hunting and fishing. In the tiny outpost, Ikummaq learned how to build igloos and travel by dog sled over the rugged arctic terrain. As a result, he is now equipped to pass on to younger Inuit some of the traditional skills that are rapidly fading from his people's cul-

ture. When the expedition arrived at Arctic Bay on April 4, Inuit children and teenagers—who are more accustomed to rock music and snowmobiles—were fascinated by the sight of genuine dog sleds. That was gratifying for Ikummaq, 28, a former wildlife officer with the Northwest Territories government. Ikummaq, who holds a degree in renewable resource technology from Thielbach College in Fort Smith, N.W.T., left the service nine months ago to return to the community lifestyle he mastered as a teenager. "The kids have lost interest in their past, but because they see us as young people we have a chance to sell them on our openness for this way of life."



Ikummaq looking at an arctic heritage in the modern world.

tural memory. But Ikummaq says that he is worried that many young Inuit may not be interested. "In the last 20 years," he told Maclean's, "we have gone from the Stone Age to the middle ages to the space age. Now the younger people are introduced to the school system at an early age. That is good, but they don't have a feel for the culture that our generation does. And there are going to be fewer and fewer young people who care. That is how elders are lost."

Despite that fear, Ikummaq and the other members of the Qitlaqqim Expedition have discovered that many about Inuit traditions can really

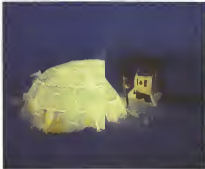
go back to school and earn a diploma in renewable resources.

Ikummaq brought both skill and enthusiasm to the expedition. An expert dog sled driver, he admits that "I love hunting the sled against those snow ridges." When the trek is over, Ikummaq will likely try to set up a tour outfitting business, as did his brother Keno, who has already taken several wealthy Americans on arctic dog sled expeditions. Still, Ikummaq says that he is happy when he is alone, pushing his dogs to an even greater pace in the grandeur of his arctic homeland.

—BRUCE WALLACE in Montreal Bay

reverting to essentialism, the surviving members gave up and returned to Greenland the next year.

The story of Qitlaqqim has been preserved not only in Inuit legend, but in European historical accounts as well. In 1808 Danish explorer Knud Rasmussen wrote of an encounter with survivors and descendants of the shipman's journey. Verification of Qitlaqqim's journey is also found in official chronicles of arctic expeditions of the day. One of these was dispatched in search for the ill-fated expedition led by British explorer Sir John Franklin, which had vanished in 1845 during a search for the Northwest Passage. Diverted from the period, which describes contact with Qitlaqqim at various points along his route, have enabled modern historians to plot his boat's journey.



Said Alan Cooke, director of Montreal's Hochelaga Research Institute, a northern documentation centre: "It is a great detective story. It is the only recognition of its time for which we can relate the historical record to the oral traditions."

Still, in their recreation of the shipman's march across the sea, Wulfski and his team have paid close attention to historical detail. The clothes worn by expedition members are largely handmade, from sealskin boots to oven-baked pants and mittens. The team is travelling in the traditional Inuit manner, aboard sleds—or komatiks—laden with walrus and seal meat for the dogs who pull them. Said Ikummaq: "When we pull into a village, the kids are rest-

ly excited by the dogs and sleds. We hope our trip can get the kids interested in their heritage."

Still, there are concessions to modern times. In the first stages of the expedition members slept in igloos built by Ikummaq. But after the expert igloo-builder strained his back hauling a sled over the ice, they decided to use their tents instead. As well, Beedell's sled is loaded with camera equipment. The author of *The Magistrate North*, a book of photographs taken on his numerous wilderness expeditions, Beedell is also recording this journey in pictures. To cope with the monotony of the miles of endless arctic whiteness, some members of the expedition have to "mimic" everything from rock to nature scene art," said Beedell—as their Sony Walkmans. And for meals, expedition members often

and who has been Beedell's doctor since infancy: "White is one of the few people in the world who went after what he wanted to do and did it when a lot of people told him he was crazy."

Traveling in cold but generally clear weather conditions—except for a treacherous whitout—the expedition



Arctic (centre): checking the dogs' harness; travelling until the dogs become tired.

completed the first 200-mile leg of its journey to Peled Islet by March 22. Then, after a southwestern trek of roughly the same distance to Arctic Bay, the team struck out on the more dangerous portion of the trip across Lancaster Sound on April 2.

Komats: With the arctic summer on its way, expedition members heard the

ice creaking and groaning beneath their feet. But the greatest challenge was propelling the heavy komatiks over the ice ridges. "The pressure ridges are stacked like dominoes, some as many as 50 feet high," said Beedell, who brained both his knees falling from his sled as it seemed off an ice ridge.

An even deadlier threat came in the form of hungry polar bears who regularly investigated the expedition's camps. The Lancaster Sound crossing cut across a haunt of polar bears. When the bears came too close, expedi-

DISPUTED CLAIMS IN THE NORTH

tion members scored them off by firing round rubber pellets into the bear's flank from a 10-gauge shotgun. Bud Beedell, "Bears don't scare easily. But I am not afraid of bears." As well, the excited barking of the expedition's dogs served as a reliable warning of approaching bears.

The sturdy dogs also proved themselves capable of pulling the team for long hours under tough conditions. Bud Beedell: "We do a lot of screaming and raving and ranting at the dogs during the day. But they are working animals who are happy as hell just bawling their guts out hour after hour." Impressed by their endurance, Beedell was able to overlook some of the dogs' more mischievous acts, such as eating his caribou pants or trying to steal his caribou pants from the tent. As the Arctic daylight lengthened toward about 24 hours daily during late April, the dogs' staying power began to dictate the distance he travelled each day. "We go until the dogs get tired," said Wisnuk.

Links: Despite occasionally frayed tempers and nagging minor injuries, the group expected to reach Etah by the end of May. Along the way, the trekkers planned to cross Makusua Strait, whose many of Qitkaik's followers started to death during the attempt to return to Baffin Island, and a more northerly location, where Qitkaik is believed to be buried. Although Qitkaik's descendant, Neumman, claims to feel no special spiritual affinity with his ancestor, Beedell expects a lineage to grow. "Knowing you are passing spots where people starved to death, or where Qitkaik is buried, is sure to be eerie," he said.

The expedition members say they hope that their trek may have a more lasting impact by reminding Canadians of the importance of their northern heritage. Like other southerners who have fallen under the spell of the Arctic, Beedell says he worries that unless Canada acts to strengthen its presence in the Arctic, real sovereignty over the area could slip from its grasp. At the same time, he sees in the Arctic abundant opportunities for Canada to build on its strengths. "On the frozen," says one more North American, noted Beedell, "are becoming aware of wilderness travel in the Arctic, and the Arctic means those tourist dollars. Canada has a chance to be a showman to the world on how to experience wilderness. For Canadians, the importance of the Qitkaikian expeditions may be the vivid reminder that it provides of the fact that mastery of the Arctic is a prize well worth winning—and keeping."

—BRUCE WALLACE in Montreal, Que.

Seventy-five years ago, when vast areas of Canada's Arctic remained unexplored and only loosely claimed, explorer Vilhjalmur Stefansson began raising money in the United States to finance a major expedition to the Canadian Arctic. Stefansson, an American born of Icelandic parents near Gifford, Minn., was following a familiar pattern in 1912. Then, and far decades before that, the Arctic's islands and icy waters were dominated by adventurous American and European seafaring whalers and cross-country explorers who were often sponsored by their governments. That activity provoked growing concern in distant Ottawa, where politicians were preoccupied with consolidating control over a vast but thinly populated land and with establishing a navy to guard Canada's coasts.

Presence: Foreign domination of the Far North had persisted even after the Arctic mainland became part of Canada in 1875 and Britain renounced the Arctic islands to Ottawa in 1880. During the first decade of the new century, when the Royal North-West Mounted Police finally established an official Canadian presence on the Arctic's mainland shore, it was the Norwegian Roald Amundsen who completed the first voyage through the Northwest Passage and American Admiral Robert Peary, on a trek from Etah in northern Greenland, who first reached the North Pole. These foreign ventures testified to Canada's tenuous grip on a polar hinterland that Stefansson accurately predicted would prove to hold both material wealth and strategic importance.

But before Stefansson set out in June, 1912, on an epic journey of discovery that was to last five years, Canada at last asserted its sovereign claim over the high Arctic in a practical manner—by taking over the sponsorship of his ventures. When Stefansson sailed, Ottawa handed out his \$15,000 expedition budget with a \$5,000 grant, then-prime minister Robert Borden—as the 1912 Canadian Annual Address relates—"took the view that it should be a Canadian expedition entirely and this was accordingly arranged."

As a result, previously unknown is-

lands discovered by Stefansson were claimed for Canada and later named for Canadian leaders, including Borden, Arthur Meighen and Mackenzie King. Since then successive federal governments have tried to reinforce sovereignty claims by investing gov-



land in the Arctic's sea, including resource development, law enforcement, exploration and tourism.

Spurse: 881, the Canadian Arctic province remains sparse, scattered and often transient. The 1986 census figures released last month show that the Northwest Territories and the Yukon—more than one-third of Canada's land—have only 76,742 residents. Only about 16,000 of them live in the Arctic. And after 75 years of Baffin attempts by Ottawa to buy an arctic province, the region remains remote from Cana-

dian society. Now the federal government is preoccupied by attempts to affirm sovereignty over the waters between the Arctic islands, and notably the Northwest Passage.

That disputed claim, says External Affairs Minister Joe Clark, is Canada's "core pure sovereignty issue of truly major proportions." At a meeting of the House of Commons defense committee last week, Clark said that it posed the major threat to Canadian sovereignty "comes from our friends, the United States." He said that the delicate 1985 voyage of the U.S. Coast Guard icebreaker Polar Sea through the Northwest Passage "brought home to all of us, in a shocking way, the



Whale flag-waving in Lancaster Sound: "These waters are Canadian, period"

reality that we cannot assert our dominance there with words alone."

To assert its claim, the Mulroney government has drawn a sovereignty line around the entire arctic archipelago in what Clark has declared was "a signal to the world at large that these waters are Canadian, period." At the same time, the government has ordered the construction of the world's largest icebreaker and—under the North American Aerospace Defense

Command pact with Washington—the upgrading of the northern landing strips for jet fighters. As well, Clark confirmed last week that the federal cabinet is seriously considering the purchase of a fleet of nuclear-powered submarines for surveillance in the Arctic, where U.S. and Soviet submarines already operate under ice-covered waters—the American boats with Ottawa's agreement under mutual defense arrangements.

Demand: Still, none of these programs assures Canadian control or U.S. compliance with Canada's arctic waters claim—nor even with Ottawa's demand that Washington sink prior Canadian claims for each future

visit every six weeks because, and one ministerial aide, "the government is very hot on sovereignty right now." In order to provide maximum effort in support of sovereignty claims, such arctic ventures are designed to attract outside attention. Both Osley and Pelletier, as well as the Qitkaik trekkers, are publishing books on their experiences. But Federal Energy Minister Marcel Masse postponed indefinitely a proposed late-April visit to Canada's polar floating ice station—where scientists are conducting weather and ocean studies off Ellesmere Island—after news media organizations turned down invitation to accompany him. As one critic "scheduling conflicts."

Feature: Ottawa's eagerness to generate publicity about its arctic activities has been a feature of its sovereignty programs since they began. More than 70 years ago there were feuds in Ottawa that the federal government in 1912's sovereignty expedition may have been wasted. Not only was his journey overstayed by the outbreak of the First World War in 1914, but for months there was no word as his whereabouts.

Then, more than two years after Stefansson's departure, the government received his first report, relayed by travellers. It proved, says the 1915 Canadian Annual Address, "that he was alive after being for months given up as lost." The explorer's report had the relieved Ottawa sponsors "of hitherto unknown territory discovered in the far northern Baffin Sea, of thrilling adventures and many privations and dangers." Although Stefansson was in fact still alive, his whereabouts were unknown after crossing Ottawa in an international dispute by claiming a Soviet island for Canada—his discoverer remains one of Ottawa's most productive inventors in arctic sovereignty.

—GAIL MILLER with MARK CLARK and REINHOLD MCKENNEY in Ottawa

PHOTO

POLAR DAREDEVILS

I was a busy time at the North Pole. On April 30 a chartered Polar Orion landed with a group of American tourists who posed for photos around a sea-foot-high candy-striped pole brought along for the purpose. Less than three hours later, Shigeo Katsura arrived at the Pole after riding and pedaling his Yamaha motorcycle about 500 miles over the ice from Ward Hunt Island, off the north Ellesmere Island. And on the same day, Japanese farmer Mitsuru Oba reached for a rescue plane (which picked him up four days later) after he twice fell through his ice up to his shoulders while he was six weeks into a solo hike toward northwestern Greenland.

After centuries of solitude, the Arctic is being invaded by a growing influx of visitors. April is becoming the region's season of polar madness, when milder weather and up to 24 hours of daylight provide ideal conditions for daredevil dashes to the Pole. A pair of daring French adventurers who left Resolute about two midnight scratch were among the adventurers who set out for the Pole in April. But the annual flurry of spectacular stunts underscores a more fundamental change: increasingly, the Arctic is becoming a magnet for tourists, who are making their way to the far North in growing numbers.

SALE: Tour operators catering to the tastes of affluent travelers are flying their customers to the Canadian North on proxy tours through the Northwest Territories and the high Arctic. Declared Robert Maxwell, chairman of the Chicago-based NBC Corp., after buying his picture taken beside an American flag and whacking golf balls at the North Pole last month: "Too meet interesting people up here. For one thing, you can eliminate the Miami Beach crowd right away."

With oil and gas exploration at a standstill in the Arctic, the expensive tourist business is taking place at an opportune time. One firm that runs tours to the Pole is Special Odyssey of Media, Wash. "Most of our customers are not just looking for a high," says company president Frederick (Skip) Voorhes. "They have an intellectual curiosity about the Arctic."

But arctic travel is still an expensive proposition. American tourists on luxury expeditions pay as much as \$15,000 to visit the Pole and drop in at remote arctic communities. More modestly priced tours are available Ottawa's

Black Feather Wilderness Adventures Ltd. and Tynd Head stores in Ottawa and Toronto offer two weeks of arctic biking in August/September National Park on Baffin Island for \$1,150, not including airfare to nearby Pangnirtung. They also offer a 25-day tour canoeing the Mackenzie River and watching caribou and musk-oxen migrations in the central Arctic for \$5,485, including travel to

total of \$80 million in the Yukon. In the Northwest Territories the flow of tourists has grown to roughly 32,000 visitors in 1988 from only about 20,000 a year in the late 1970s, with about 18,300 of those in 1988 actually traveling north of the Arctic Circle.

WILDS: Travelers to the Arctic are drawn by the spirit of adventure and some of the world's last unspoiled



Katsura: spectacular stunts as growing numbers of tourists visit the Arctic

Yellowknife, N.W.T. "Travel to the Arctic is fascinating," said Wendy Granger of Black Feather. "But it's more expensive to fly to Yellowknife from Toronto than to London, England." Return fares between Montreal and Pangnirtung vary from about \$500 to almost \$1,200, depending on the season, routing and the advance booking notice—roughly double the rates between Montreal and Europe.

SALE: In the meantime, the opening of the Dempster Highway from Dawson City in the Yukon to Inuvik in the western Arctic eight years ago has proved to be a catalyst for growth in northern tourism. Driven by the spectacular scenery, fishing, and rafting expeditions on Yukon rivers, visitors last year made about 1,500 trips along the Dempster and spent an estimated

wilderness. The region also has its own elusive and spectacular beauty. Shigeo Clark-Kingsdon, a Polishing, Ont., schoolteacher, first went hiking in Baffin Island's Augustus National Park in 1981. "The light was always changing," recalled Clark-Kingsdon. "One moment we were lying on our backs under a blue sky and the next we had drizzle that made the rocks wet and slippery. Then we turned into a valley with gorgeous purple lichen. The experience really becomes part of you, something you never forget." It was because habit-forming is well. Clark-Kingsdon says that she hopes to return to the Arctic with her husband and two young sons as soon as the boys are old enough.

—MARK NEEDLES with DEBBIE WALLACE in Toronto



Presenting
Russian Prince
vodka.
The frosty
spirit of
old Russia,
recaptured.

One sip
should convince
you.



Scattered across the top of the globe, the circumpolar peoples have survived for centuries in some of the earth's most inhospitable terrain and harshest climates. Increasingly now, the distinctive northern natives must also contend with worldwide advertisers that threaten their cultural heritage—and in some cases their very existence. While the hazards of economic exploitation and environmental destruction menace all the arctic peoples, none appear to be faring better than others. That, at least, is the view of author Barry Mosset, who first wrote about the Arctic 35 years ago and has championed the cause of Canada's northern peoples ever since. After traveling in the circumpolar world last year, Mosset is most appalled about countries where native peoples have a degree of control. By that standard, at least, he judged the Greenland Inuit to be the most advanced, while—for all of Norway's poor human rights record—"the Soviet North is not far behind."

Peoples The circumpolar world was the focus of a project that took a Canadian film crew on a journey that began last year in Alaska, continued through Norway, Sweden, the Soviet Union, Greenland and the Canadian North. Led by Toronto producer-director Andrew Thomson, the crew shot footage for a two-hour film that will be narrated by Mosset and aired on the CBC network next winter. Mosset says that the experience left him on a pessimistic mood about the future of Canada's arctic people. In Canada, he told Mosset's, "we have always exploited the North as though it were a foreign territory. What we have done over the years has been to ignore our aboriginal people except as slaves as they could be usefully exploited, and to do the minimum for them that you have to do so that you won't be accused of cultural genocide."

In contrast to that, Mosset and



Same child with reindeer: threatened by the hazards of civilization

CIRCUMPOLAR CONTRASTS

Thomson perched Soviet planners for building a permanent Siberian society in which both native peoples and transplanted southerners could participate. Thomson's crew filmed extensively in and around the city of Pevek, which grew from a civilian prison camp to become a major town in Siberia's far-eastern Chukotka region. Remarkably, the community is supported by a glacier-silt-mining operation nearby. "The rationale for development," said Mosset, "is to ease some of the poverty of that gold to establish a complete community. The Soviets treat resources as magnets that will draw people and keep them there."

The Canadian visitors were equally impressed by the Siberian style of life. At a camp near Pevek, Chukchi fishermen appeared to have the best of two

worlds. As highly paid reindeer herders, the Chukchi follow their traditional ways, living in semi-circular tents and eating dried reindeer meat, with utensils made of reindeer bone. At the same time, modern apartments are provided for winter quarters, as well as boarding schools for the herders' children. "The native people are cared for," said Thomson, "in a way that I've never seen in the Canadian Arctic."

Peoples For Mosset, the degree of Greenland offers an even more intriguing prospect. As Danish citizens, Greenlanders are predominantly Inuit population of 50,000—almost double Canada's—in fighting to overcome a legacy of alcoholism, suicide and social dislocation brought about by rapid urbanization during the 1970s. Greenland's internal strife by Denmark in 1979, the Greenlanders are now working to restore the basic elements of traditional Inuit life. Political pressures are also building for full independence. Said Mosset: "I think Greenland is the only place in the arctic region where a small indigenous people have a chance of making it on their own."

Still, as arctic regions as magnets to the often deadly side effects of industrial civilization. When the film crew visited Arit, Sweden, for a gathering of the Sami people, who herd reindeer across northern Scandinavia, a critical issue was the contamination of large areas of pastured by radioactive fallout from the April 1986 Soviet nuclear reactor disaster at Chernobyl. In the meantime, Mosset believes that with global population pressures building, it is time for Canadians to reconsider their approach to the Arctic. "The question," said Mosset, "is whether we are just going to use our North as a grab bag, or whether we are going to say, this could be a place for us to live—and the people who are already there."

—MARK NEWMAN in Toronto

PEOPLE



Slaves: dropping out of school caused a stir

Learning to speak with a Jamaican accent for her role in *Milk and Honey*, a new movie produced by actress **Feder O'Brien**, proved a challenge for British-born actress **Jessie Snow**. She had only eight days in Jamaica to prepare to play a young woman who leaves her family and young son behind to seek a better life in Canada. Snow, 28—now in Toronto for the filming—left school at 15 to become an actress. "I cried a lot," she said, "and upset my parents. They thought acting was a disreputable world of casting couches—and ending all your studies."

As the director of a Canada-United States series at Harvard University in Cambridge, Mass., **Thomas Abernethy** has a unique vantage point on American attitudes toward Canada. Now Abernethy, 39, former principal secretary to Prime Minister **Pierre Trudeau**, has compiled *Our American Cousins*—a book that examines Americans through Canadian eyes. It includes an introduction by Abernethy and reprinted contributions from 34 other writers. Abernethy says that most Americans still assume that Canadians are just like them. He added, "They mean it as a compliment—but I have to tell them that we have spent all of our history trying to be not like them."

Canadian sculptor **Archie Padden** was the last to work as a welder last year to pay for food and rent, says that a \$4,700 award has come as a "nice surprise." Padden, 61, picked up one of five Greenharper Awards presented at a dinner at New York City's Solance R.

Guggenheim Museum on Apr. 30. The artist, born in Des Moines, Iowa, and now based in Toronto, said that the prize "is given to people who aren't popular in the public eye." Some of his works—abstract linear steel sculptures—are now on display in New York. They will be on show in Washington later this month and at Toronto's Mura Gedard Gallery in late July. Padden said that he appreciates the money, but added, "It will quickly get eaten up in materials."

Before leaving Montreal last month to begin his job as Canada's senior trade mission, a David Nations organization in Paris, a fearful **Jose Drapeau** told well-wishers, "I am not going into exile—I am going to serve my country in France." When the federal cabinet named Drapeau, 71, to the federal

post last year, critics charged that he did not have the money for the job. Indeed, the seven-time mayor of Montreal, who suffered a stroke in 1989, cited poor health as his reason for retiring from politics last year. Still, **Gerry Snyder**, a longtime friend of Drapeau's, said "His friends all think the posting is a good thing. When he left city politics,

we worried how such an active man would handle being put on the back burner."

When British pop star **Ped Young** tours in Canada, as he did earlier this spring, he draws enthusiastic crowds. Now Young, 31, best known for his hit single *Everytime You Go Away*, says that he also wants to achieve stardom in the United States. To that end, the platinum-selling Young, who usually heads his own concerts, said that he will perform on the opening act with the superstar rock band Genesis for its American tour this spring and summer. Young said that he is Canadian and Canadian, where teenagers

greet him, he feels like "a kid Peter with a gaggle of kids behind me." But, he added, "America is so vast that it takes years for people to get to know your name."



Reve: from Supermen to tabloid reporter

He is sole on an audacious magazine writer who fabricated a story in the recent movie *Shogun*. Snow marks the second time **Gravestone News** has played a journalist. "My other effort at playing a reporter was Clark Kent, where a pair of glasses stood for a characterization," said Snow, best known for playing the multi-married reporter who is really Superman for *Street Smart*, issue 34, and that he learned about journalism by interviewing New York magazine writers. He added, "I have been looking forward to a real people feature." During the filming, he said, "I would show up on set, and I would be through my hair and be ready. The character here was closest to who I really am."

—RATED BY THOMAS COLE

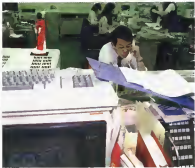
A war between friends

They call each other Ron and Yoko, and consider themselves personal friends. But last week Japan's Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone joined like Brian Mulroney before him—that friendship with President Ronald Reagan can prove a double-edged sword. After a two-day official visit to Washington, one of the most trusted executives in U.S.-Japanese relations since the Second World War, Nakasone discovered that enemies with Reagan could not shield him from the protection wrath of the U.S. Congress. Indeed, the friendship might even turn as much crucial support back home that he may be forced out of office before his term ends this fall.

Only hours after Nakasone's first stop at the White House, where the leaders of the world's two largest economic powers put on an elaborate show of goodwill, the House of Representatives passed the toughest trade bill in American political history by an overwhelming 280 to 137 votes. Among its most controversial provisions an amendment proposed by Missouri Democrat and presidential candidate Richard Gephardt aimed directly at Japan—that would require the President to negotiate unilaterally against any country whose alleged unfair trade practices allowed for an excessive surplus with the United States. Although the Gephardt amendment passed through the Democrat-controlled House by only 268 votes to 214—and it is not expected to survive in the Senate—it dealt a personal blow to the embattled Nakasone's prestige and pro-American position in Japan.

Analysts predicted that the Prime Minister's subsequent failure to win a debate date for removal of the first U.S. economic sanctions against Japan since the Second World War—a \$500-million retaliation imposed on April 17 in response to Japanese imports—would force him to resign by this summer. And William Schneider, of the American Enterprise Institute, "This visit to Washington could have saved him that note he's deserved."

Many Americans were predictions that the great climax of economic reprisals triggered by the House measures could unleash an international trade war with grave consequences for Canada. Nakasone himself said he was "apprehensive



Tokyo currency brokers: a \$130-billion surplus, a threat of mass withdrawal

that the House bill, if passed into law, would lead to "a continuation of world trade." The legislation now goes to the Senate, where the finance committee is working on its own, less retaliatory trade bill. A compromise bill is likely to emerge. But a Canadian official in Washington was quick to denounce last week's bill as "unilateralist and illegal," capable of inflicting serious injury on U.S.-Canadian economic relations. He added that the presidential congressional road boded ill for approval of a Canadian-U.S. free trade agreement in the fall.

A series of provisions in the bill would leave a range of goods previously considered protected by international trade rules and bilateral agreements—among them approximately \$600 million in Canadian defense sales to the United States—suddenly open to the threat of retaliatory tariffs. Said one Canadian official: "This bill opens up new areas for trade actions. If it was enacted, it would create a higher degree of uncertainty for doing business in the United States." Added another: "If it goes through, it could make us problems up

til now look like chicken feed."

The passage of the Gephardt amendment was timed with calculated industry to telegraph to Nakasone the level of congressional frustration with the worsening trade imbalance between the two countries. The Japanese case was further undermined when, in the midst of Nakasone's visit, the Japanese government announced that the country's trade surplus for the fiscal year ending on March 31 had mushroomed to a record \$130 billion—\$84 billion more than the previous year. But other countries with large surpluses are also targets, including Taiwan, South Korea, Italy and West Germany.

Most analysts agree that, despite Canada's \$58 billion trade surplus with the United States, Ottawa would not likely be affected by the Gephardt amendment. But Gary Huffman, a professor of international finance at Georgetown University, said that while the amendment had served as a "lightning rod"—attracting most media and White House attention—other provisions had crept into the bill that could prove more harmful to Canada. Among

these the reopening of international trade definitions of what constitutes a subsidy. The bill could provoke new disputes like the recent fight over Canadian softwood lumber imports. And it contains a "demonstrative dumping" provision—to combat the sale below cost of goods—which could hurt Canada's sizable telecommunications exports to the

sure by changing their American holdings. Immediately following the Gephardt amendment, U.S. bond prices plunged temporarily. But the real test comes this week when the U.S. Treasury Department's quarterly bond offering is due. And Nakasone reportedly declared that unless Japan and the United States could work out their frictions in mutual

promised to lift the import sanctions against a range of Japanese electronic goods, which Nakasone characterized as "a very rare thing sticking in our small finger," as soon as possible. And Reagan also said that unless the congressional trade bill was softened, he would use his veto power. But the President could go far further ennobling tensions with Congress by making a more specific commitment. Indeed, despite Reagan's desire to strengthen Nakasone's hand back home, the Prime Minister's visit illustrates just how important both leaders now are to act in a crisis that has global implications. Both are seriously weakened domestically—their popularity low in the polls, their terms near an end and their hands tied by hostile congresses. A recent poll in the national daily, *Asahi Shimbun*, showed that only 36 per cent of those asked approved of Nakasone's cabinet.

But the most serious blow to Nakasone's political survival came in mid-April when overwhelming opposition in his country forced him into a humiliating retreat on his proposal for a first-come Japanese sales tax—another move designed to please the United States. With Nakasone's extended



Nakasone and Reagan: politically weakened in the face of an international crisis

United States, said Huffman: "There is a lot of potential for mischief three or four years down the road."

But to many Canadian officials the most upsetting aspect of the bill and the Gephardt amendment was the worsening mood in Congress that it signalled. Even the current Senate trade bill contains provisions for discretionary retaliation steps that could hurt Canada. And

co-operation. "The problems will snowball as we go."

Nakasone attempted to show his goodwill by announcing that he had instructed the Bank of Japan to lower its short-term interest rates—already only 3.5 per cent. That move was designed to stimulate the appetite at home for spending more on consumer goods—preferably American imports. The same

intention lay behind Nakasone's announcement of a \$44-billion package designed to stimulate the domestic economy. To please Washington, he also reiterated a promise that Japan would recycle \$30 billion of its economic surplus into untied loans to debt-plagued developing countries, mainly in Latin America. But most analysts agreed those moves could not remove the fundamental trade frictions between Tokyo and Washington.



For his part, Reagan

term due to expire in November, his falling fortunes worry Washington not so much for his sake as for the sake of his successor. Indeed, one White House official predicted that the United States could never again expect so pro-American a Japanese prime minister.

With poll in Japan now showing increased resentment against the United States, and Congress' mounting grim mood, relations between the two countries are unlikely to improve soon. Despite the hazy promises exchanged by the two leaders at the end of the visit, analysts predict no major improvement until after the next U.S. presidential election in late 1988, when both countries will have leaders in a position strong enough to tackle fundamental problems. Said Huffman: "Things are going to get worse before they get better." That forecast is bad news for Canada, too. Said one White House official after the trade ride: "It is a volatile situation. Nobody is in control anymore and the danger is, things could easily get out of hand."

—MARC McDONALD is in Washington with PETER MCELROY in Tokyo

A vote under siege

South African whites prepared to go to the polls this week—but members of the black majority planned to make their stand clear in street demonstrations. Tired to coincide with the white-only May 6 elections, an estimated one million black workers were scheduled to hold a two-day general strike on May 5 and on voting day. The Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and the

anti-apartheid trade unionists. Perhaps most worrisome for the government of President P.W. Botha was the recent spread of violence to predominantly white university campuses, where, for the first time, police fired shotguns at student protesters. In the election campaign itself there were a few tentative signs of white support for major opponents: three former members of the ruling National Party ran



Demonstrators at Cape Town University: a scene of confrontation on the eve of elections.

United Democratic Front (UDF)—the country's largest anti-apartheid organization—last week called for the protest to be peaceful. But few observers expected a nonviolent outcome. The black groups were demanding the reinstatement of 16,000 striking railway workers who were fired in April 82, as well as killings by security forces, and the release of all detainees held without trial under an 11-month-old state of emergency. Had a UDF spokesman in Johannesburg "We cannot allow whites to go to the polls pretending that nothing is wrong with the country."

In the weeks preceding the election, labor and political unrest had pushed the country to the brink of all-out confrontation. A crippling anti-strike strike by black Johannesburg transit workers and the mass demonstrations ordered by the authorities had led to pitched battles in which police killed six strikers. At the same time, thousands of blacks in the sprawling township of Soweto lay siege to a stay-at-home campaign to pre-

vent independence for an end to apartheid. But observers predicted the return of Botha and his party to power with a slightly reduced majority.

Under siege both at home and abroad, the government last week unleashed a broadside at Canadian External Affairs Minister Joe Clark. Last month Clark took the unusual step of mailing 30,000 letters to households across Canada, inviting respondents to list their names in an anti-apartheid register, a government document apportioning Canada's opposition to racist policies. A spokesman for South Africa's foreign ministry denounced the action as "flagrant interference in the internal affairs of South Africa."

The sharpness of Pretoria's response reflected the growing pressures on the apartheid regime. On April 29, the day of the courts' call for a general strike, police found four railway strikebreakers stabbed, kicked and hurled to death in a field near Soweto. Police lay immediately raided the labor union's

headquarters in Johannesburg and arrested 11 people. A police spokesman said that the men had been taken to the COSATU offices before being "buried in the most barbaric fashion."

Adding to the tension was a series of disturbances at the mainly white University of Cape Town. On April 27 police fired shotguns at students protesting South Africa's commando raid on two alleged African National Congress (ANC) targets in neighboring Swaziland. When demonstrators marched within view of a major highway and began waving police cars, policemen fired bird shot into the crowd, injuring about 30 students. The next day violence flared again as students returned to the scene to protest the police use of shotguns. About 2,000 protesters sang black nationalist songs and chanted "Botha is a terrorist" before police dispersed them. And two days later at Johannesburg's Witwatersrand University, police fired tear gas at student demonstrators.

The government was also under pressure from the courts. Two recent Supreme Court rulings have thrown into doubt the status of South Africa's state of emergency regulations. On April 24 a provincial Supreme Court overturned a ban on press coverage of social unrest. Four days later another court invalidated regulations against public campaigning for the release of

detainees. With government appeals of the court rulings pending, foreign journalists largely ignored the manifold of censorship regulations and reported on the week's violence for the first time since last June. Some reporters paid a price for their daring: police whipped a photographer with Reuters news service and arrested members of an ABC crew who were covering Cape Town's election disturbances.

Despite the growing climate of confrontation, a note of optimism emerged from an unexpected quarter. On a visit to Sweden, banned ANC leader Oliver Tambo said that he was encouraged by the participation of reform-minded independents in the May 6 poll. "There is a growing movement away from apartheid among members of the white community," said Tambo. "We can see a light at the end of what has been a dark and gruesome tunnel."

—ANDREW BEARDS with CHRIS DEANES in Cape Town



HELP FIGHT "MOTOROSIS"

All cars pollute. But it's a fact that some cars pollute much more than others — call it "motorosis". It's the result of misfueling with leaded gasoline, or chemicals getting into the air because an untuned engine is not burning the gas completely.

An untuned engine wastes gasoline and increases maintenance costs over the long-term. Now you could say that it's an individual's choice to do this, but the problem is that we all have to breathe the resulting pollution, and our children are especially susceptible!

If you follow the correct maintenance schedule for your car and avoid leaded gas unless required, thanks from all of us. If you don't, please reconsider... you'll benefit from lower overall running costs, and we'll all breathe easier.



Environment
Canada

Environnement
Canada



PETROLEUM ASSOCIATION
FOR CONSERVATION OF
THE CANADIAN ENVIRONMENT



Don't exhaust the future.

Haunted by ghosts of a Nazi past

The announcement was both cut and unprepared. For the first time in its history the United States barred a head of state—Austrian President Kurt Waldheim—from crossing its borders. After a year-long investigation, Attorney General Edwin Meese last week placed the former secretary general of the United Nations as an immigration "watch list." The reason, evidence that Waldheim had participated in the persecution of Greek and Yugoslav civilians while serving in the German army during the Second World War.

While Austrian Chancellor Franz Vranitzky said that he was going ahead with a planned May 17 visit to Washington, apparently against Waldheim's wishes, Vienna immediately recalled its ambassador from the United States for consultations. In a televised speech, Waldheim called the American decision "damaging and incomprehensible." He added, "I have a clear conscience."

The unexpected American action capped a widespread campaign against Waldheim. Even before his election last June, the New York-based World Jewish Congress had called for a full investigation of his war record. Waldheim, who once claimed to have been studying in Vienna at the time when his secretaries said he was a German army lieutenant in the Balkans, later admitted during the election campaign that he was with the army, but denied any wrongdoing. Despite the revelations, Austrians voted for him by an almost 50-per-cent majority in runoff elections last June. But now, faced with growing international censure of the president, many Austrians are concerned about the effects his past might have on the country's diplomatic and economic standing. Still, there is no unanimous opinion as to firing the president to resign, and the 68-year-old Waldheim appears determined to serve the remaining five years of his term.

There was widespread support for the U.S. action. When asked if Wald-

heim would be welcome in Canada, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney replied, "No, he wouldn't." A spokesman for Mulroney later added, "The Americans having declared themselves, Canada followed suit." And Edgar Brachner, the Montreal-born president of the World Jewish Congress, said that Meese had "acted in a courageous manner and sent a clear message: 'Nazi war not welcome here.'" Said Stephen Le-



Waldheim before his elected speech: international isolation and questions.

is, Canada's UN ambassador, "It's the right decision, because I think Mr. Waldheim has brought upon himself and the [U.S.] organization a degree of moral culpability."

Waldheim has described the charges against him as a conspiracy. A month ago Waldheim told Mecklen's "There is a plot about by people whose only aim is to vilify me. There can be no new evidence of war crimes because I was not involved in any war crimes." Throughout the investigation he reassured Austrians that discussions between his lawyers and the U.S. justice department were going well. But Meese said that Waldheim could not refuse evidence that he had participated in the mass deportation of Greek and Yugoslav Jews and others to labor and death camps, and the reprisal executions of civilian hostages.

Immediately after the announce-

ment, critics accused in Austria's Social-Democratic coalition government, which had previously supported Waldheim solidly. The official Socialist party newspaper, *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, said that Waldheim, whose post in largely ceremonial, could best serve his country by resigning. The *Vorarlberg* appealed for calm while admitting that he feared that the tense atmosphere could erupt into anti-Semitic and anti-American demonstrations. Instead, an official at the U.S. Embassy in Vienna said that after the Meese announcement, the mission was inundated with calls accusing the United States of co-operation with the "Austrian Mafia" and of being "a mouthpiece for world Jewry."

But, the U.S. action was merely the most damaging in the growing international isolation of the former diplomat. In February, Belgium scrubbed Waldheim after it became known that he wanted to visit Brussels in September for a cultural festival being staged in Austria's honor. The Belgian authorities discreetly informed Austria that Waldheim would not be welcome because a visit could unleash passions in a country deeply scarred

by the German occupation in the Second World War. According to diplomatic sources, Belgium's King Baudouin threatened to withdraw his patronage of the European Festival if Waldheim attended.

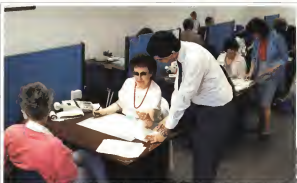
Austrians were clearly divided about what their president should do. Leading commentators said that Waldheim made Austria a less attractive trading partner and holiday destination. But others, including Nazi-hunter Rainer Wimmer, said that Waldheim could not be removed to clear his name. "I told Gerald Waldheim [Waldheim's son] that his father must go to court," said Wimmer, "otherwise his credibility in the United States is less than zero. He told me that his father was too proud."

—SUE MASTRONI in Vienna
with PETER LEVITS in Brussels and
HILARY MACDONALD in Ottawa

ONE STEP AHEAD



WARNING: Health and Welfare Canada advises that danger to health increases with amount smoked—avoid inhaling.
Av per cigarette: B&H King Size Tar 13 mg. Nicotine 1.2. King Size Lights Tar 10 mg. Nicotine 1.0.



Last month's rush at the tax office: a white paper and a search for a new balance between personal and corporate rates

BUSINESS/ECONOMY

A personal tax touch

Every year the Fraser Institute, a Vancouver-based think-tank, estimates from Jan 1 the date on which an average Canadian taxpayer has earned enough money to pay all direct, indirect and hidden federal, provincial and municipal taxes. That date has been known as Tax Freedom Day. In 1985, Tax Freedom Day occurred on May 2. By last year it had reached July 8. That change reflects what many business and political observers say is a fundamental structural problem with Canada's tax system: it has become overly reliant on taxes paid by individuals. Federal Finance Minister Michael Wilson acknowledged that problem last October, when he released a set of guidelines for tax reform. He promised to shift the burden from income to corporate and sales taxes while at the same time reducing many of the tax surcharges now enjoyed by corporations. Last week Wilson reaffirmed the government's commitment to such a comprehensive overhaul—and he said that he would issue a white paper by the end of June.

But tax reform will test Wilson's political skill and courage. For months Wilson has faced nervous cabinet colleagues who question the political merits of some proposals, including one to apply sales tax to food. And officials in the Prime Minister's Office raised similar questions. Members of the rank said that they were keenly aware of the massive political opposition that erupted in Japan two weeks ago when Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone was forced to drop a proposal that would have introduced a five-per-cent sales tax.

Last week, speaking briefly in the House of Commons, Wilson took aim at the speculation that some cabinet ministers were nervous about his proposals. One of these is the business transfer tax (BTT), a federal levy that would be imposed at each stage from producer to consumer. Ontario is already in tax, for the first time, hundreds of consumer products, including food and clothing, and services ranging from haircuts to legal bills to entertainment. But despite Wilson's assurances, some private-sector observers

still predict that the reforms will only be phased in, with sales tax changes postponed beyond the next election. Said John Dalbok, president of the Canadian Federation of Independent Business (CFIB): "The Conservatives' 24-per-cent standing in the polls does not give them the credibility to pull off the sales tax reforms now."

But many other analysts say that the three pillars of the tax system—personal income tax, corporate income tax and the sales tax—must be overhauled simultaneously. Rita Ouse, the Canadian Manufacturers' Association (CMA) tax-costs expert, and that reducing personal and corporate income tax rates without a major new sales tax would create an increase in the deficit. And most business observers share Wilson's view that Canadian income tax rates must be brought into line with low, lower U.S. rates, introduced last October, to prevent both businesses and individuals from moving to the United States.

Since the early 1960s the tax burden in Canada has gradually shifted from consumption to income. Personal income taxes currently account for 45

per cent of federal revenue, compared with 31 per cent in 1961-1962. The contribution to federal revenue from sales tax slumped to 14 per cent in the early 1980s from a high of 17 per cent in the mid-1950s, largely due to government-approved exemptions. Corporate income tax, as a proportion of total revenues, has declined almost steadily to the current 20.5 per cent from 30 per cent in 1961-1962 because of various deductions and write-offs. The objective of tax reform is to strike a new balance by reducing personal and corporate income tax rates, said Wilson. But the tax base will be broadened by eliminating some corporate tax breaks and by taxing the consumption of a far wider range of goods and services.

The Conservatives have pledged an overhaul for two main reasons, according to Wilson's tax reform guidelines for one thing, the system is widely viewed as unfair because it is muddled with selective tax exemptions, write-offs and deductions, available primarily to corporations and wealthy individuals. For another, Canada's personal and corporate tax rates have become competitive with U.S. rates to attract investment. "We do not want to use our job-creating capacity go down there," Wilson told *Maclean's*. "We have to be competitive."

The finance minister has not yet disclosed the details of how he plans to cut personal tax rates, but the spread between the two countries is significant. David Perry, senior research associate with the Canadian Tax Foundation (CTF), said that top tax rates on high incomes in Canada range from 53 per cent in Alberta to 69 per cent in Manitoba. Pre-reform U.S. federal rates had 43 tax brackets, and the top rate was 50 per cent. Now, the government takes 15 per cent on taxable incomes up to \$38,865 annually and 38 per cent on incomes above that figure. But even if Wilson cuts federal rates, provincial income tax increases could offset the savings. That's because the provinces collect 38 per cent of all income tax in Canada, compared with the 15 per cent that U.S. states collect.

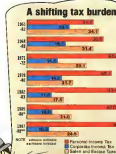
As well, it is unclear exactly how the minister plans to narrow the gap on corporate rates. The CMA's Ouse said that the U.S. rate has been cut to 34 per cent from 46 per cent. The Mulroney government has already begun to cut the income tax rate for manufacturers to 35 per cent from 38 per cent in 1987. But the government owns a one-per-cent credit, which will be increased to seven per cent by 1989. That will effectively reduce their rate to 36 per cent.

The long wait for detailed pro-

posals is causing concern for executives at some Canadian companies. Said George Bessie, vice-president and co-owner of Stolin Inc., "It is hard to direct things when we do not know what will happen. You get a little impatient." For his part, Jack Cockwell, chief operating officer of Toronto-based Brenco Ltd., said that the uncertainty was attributed to foreign takeovers of such prominent Canadian companies as Shinko Oil Ltd., Dome Petroleum Ltd. and Carling O'Keefe

pany maintained that its grainline bars are food, which is exempt, rather than candy, which is not. Another company argued that its champagne should be considered a medicinal product and exempted because it prevents dandruff. Otherwise, it would be a cosmetic and taxable.

The BTT which is a variation on the value-added tax (VAT) used in many European countries, would be applied at every step in the chain from producer to consumer. It would be applied to hundreds of previously untaxed goods and services. For tax purposes, the BTT would likely mean higher prices on most purchases, and for business it would mean an expanded role as tax collectors. Andrew Friedman, a tax partner with the accounting firm Peat Marwick, said, "The tax has to be all-encompassing or forget it."



Led in particular, potential Canadian buyers were concerned that tax changes might prevent them from deducting interest costs or releasing large takeover-related debts through preferred-share issues.

The most controversial part of the reform package could be the BTT, which would replace the federal sales tax. Exemptions have undermined the current sales tax and caused numerous disputes between manufacturers and Ottawa, the CT's Perry said. One com-

pany maintained that its grainline bars are food, which is exempt, rather than candy, which is not. Another company argued that its champagne should be considered a medicinal product and exempted because it prevents dandruff. Otherwise, it would be a cosmetic and taxable.

The BTT which is a variation on the value-added tax (VAT) used in many European countries, would be applied at every step in the chain from producer to consumer. It would be applied to hundreds of previously untaxed goods and services. For tax purposes, the BTT would likely mean higher prices on most purchases, and for business it would mean an expanded role as tax collectors. Andrew Friedman, a tax partner with the accounting firm Peat Marwick, said, "The tax has to be all-encompassing or forget it."

But president Bittich said that a survey of his 71,000 members showed that 44 per cent opposed the BTT, 34 per cent were in favor and 22 per cent remained undecided. But Consumers' Association of Canada officials said that they were concerned about the prospect of a BTT. Declared co-chairman Robert Kruttschnitt, a University of Waterloo economics professor, "The reason a government wants to introduce BTT is simply a revenue grab. We worry it will divert attention from real tax reform, and it will reward rent-seeking instead of take-aver artists." But, tax reform is a potentially treacherous area. The last comprehensive overhaul occurred in the late 1960s under Liberal Finance Minister Edgar Benson. The 1971 Tax Reform Act passed only after numerous compromises to accommodate the business community. In 1981 another Liberal finance minister, Allan Rock, tried to remove exemptions and cut tax rates. The subsequent conservative forced him to scrap most of the changes. Until now, Wilson has avoided major political damage because most special-interest groups have supported his basic principles. But when he releases detailed proposals in June, and the winners and losers are evident, a storm is almost certain to begin.

—BARBARA JENSEN and ANDY WALSHLEY in Toronto

Wall Street's dark humor

Bad taste nearly always generates bad humor in Wall Street's hectic trading rooms. Last year's disaster at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant near Kiev spawned a round of "chickens Kiev" jokes. Other tragedies, including actor Jack Hudson's AIDS-related death in 1988 and the Challenger disaster, have also been the targets of cynical young men who work the stock ex-

change trading floors is the heart of corporate America. Now, the ever-widening insider-trading scandal that has jolted Wall Street during the past year has provided fresh material for satire. But the joke is on the traders themselves.

It began with the indictment of 33-year-old investment banker Dennis Levine last May on insider-trading charges. Levine was charged by the

Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) for illegally using knowledge of pending stock transactions to earn profits for himself. Since then more than 70 prominent arbitrageurs—stock market players who speculate on company takeovers—and investment bankers have left their Wall Street district offices in handshakes. Said Morris Ruben, a corporate banking officer with First National Bank of Chicago in New York: "This is a time of false idols."

Across the street from the stock exchange, New Yorkers pay \$15.48—\$5.70 for Wall Street insiders—to have their pictures taken with a life-size cardboard cutout of disgraced arbitrageur Ivan Boesky, who was fined \$138.5 million by the SEC for insider trading last November. And the cover of the April issue of *Newsweek*, not, an influential New York business magazine features such satirical articles as "New York's grandest ruses" and "Free the bidder 3?"—two takeover specialists at KKR, Peabody & Co., Inc. who were arrested in February on insider-trading charges.

But some observers say that the satirical humor masks a growing sense of disappointment. Ronald Rosenbaum, a former contributing editor at *Newsweek*, for one, claims that the securities regulations and the sustained American involvement in arms trading between Iran and the contra rebel forces in Nicaragua have combined to disillusion many young Americans. The humor, he says, helps them to deal with it. Added Rosenbaum: "The twin pillars of the 1980s—corporate culture, the Reagan administration and the investment banking business—have suddenly been unmasked and revealed to be little more than world criminal conspiracies."

But the next biting commentary on Wall Street's scandal came from a group of young executives called The Vix. Led by drummer James Clash, a 33-year-old Manhattan advertising account executive, the amateur rock group dresses in trendy and expensive Brooks Brothers suits and sings such lyrics as "despite the money we're all makers, need a little insider trade" and "It pays for Glad Med and the big water bed."

In a recent interview, The Vix were introduced as young professionals currently re-examining their career goals in the wake of the scandal. Since at their peers on Wall Street, however, across The Vix of exploiting the misfortune of their fallen colleagues for money to Wall Street's new humor—like Wall Street itself—there is always a profit to be made.

—LARRY BLACK in New York

Now Toshiba lets you delete the bad news...and enlarge and highlight the rest.



Original

Actual photocopy

Introducing the Toshiba BD-7720 copier with electronic editing.

With the new BD-7720 from Toshiba, editing at the office copier is no longer a matter of cut and paste. Simply push a button and you can automatically mask, trim, even center. Instantly making your points more pointed, and your graphs more graphic.

You can further accentuate the positive through such Toshiba touches as Chromaflocc colour copying and ZOOM automatic enlargement. (Or reduction, if things are going too well.)

There's even a unique Auto Duplexing option that lets you produce two-colour copies in one pass.

To hear more good news about the BD-7720, or any other Toshiba copier, contact your Toshiba dealer or call toll free 1-800-387-5646. You'll find that, compared to the BD-7720, the competition simply doesn't enter the picture.



TOSHIBA

WE MEAN BUSINESS

COPIER PRODUCTS DIVISION

Choose your weapon and come out fighting.

Choose Canada's No. 1 weed killer for your lawn: Killax® from Green Cross®, also the choice of professionals.

Choose from Killax Liquid, ready-to-use Easy-Ready® Killax, new Killax Weed Bar, Killax Spot Weeder, Weed 'n Feed with its box, or Killax used by lawn-care specialists.

Killax is a registered, proven-effective herbicide that kills over 50 kinds of weeds, fast.

Killax: From Green Cross. LAWNS LOVE IT. WEEDS DIE FOR IT.

TOR: 743-7437, Montreal: 342-1234, Cdn. 800-387-5646



GREEN CROSS®

A GUARANTEED PLUS FOR ALL YOUR GROWING NEEDS

The Nor'Westers' revenge

By Peter C. Newman

Last Saturday afternoon, on May 2, precisely 307 years after it first went into business, the Hudson's Bay Company formally completed sale of its Northern Stores Division to a new group of merchant-adventurers, determined to reassert itself as its great tradition, at least in its original entrepreneurial spirit.

The HBC's divestiture, which is part of Ken Thomson's attempt to reduce the company's \$2.5-billion debt to manageable proportions, paved a doorway in the 17th northern continent where not only is the local HBC store often the sole source of groceries, but its manager acts as a legislator, social and sometimes even spiritual and medical adviser to the isolated residents. These entrepreneurial functions have been part of the HBC's mandate since it was first incorporated to take advantage of Charles II's huge grant of trading rights on May 2, 1670.

The takeover ceremony, choreographed by the new company's vice-president of public affairs, George Whitman, was much more than symbolic. It took place at the Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature in Winnipeg, showed a replica of the Narbonne, the tiny ship that first brought the merchant adventurers across the Atlantic. After the HBC governor's flag was lowered and presented to governor Donald McGivern, he also received one share in the new firm to perpetuate a historic link—sweet taste.

The key man in this unusual corporate chess game has been Raymond Bork, president and chief executive officer of Metrol Trust, a busy subsidiary of Metrol Ltd., which reported a 120-per-cent profit increase in 1992. The company, which has combined assets and administered assets worth well over \$1 billion, was purchased from the Royal Bank in 1981. (It was then called Interior Trust and had been Manitoba Trust before that.) One of its more dramatic previous moves was to back the owner of the long-lost cave T-shirts at Niagara-On-The-Lake, Ont.

Duff had become interested in the HBC through his executive vice-president, Ian Sutherland, whose father, Hugh, ran the Northern Stores Division for most of 25 years. They avoided the usual trouble and approached Thomson, ignoring that buying out the Northern Stores would mean a net \$100-million reduction in

the company's overall debt load. "I'm a bit of a nationalist," Duff told me before the ceremony, "and I wanted to make sure the Northern Stores are widely held and didn't become part of some huge merchandising chain that would only try to maximize its bottom line. We have the wonderful opportunity here of restoring Canada's heritage and making money at the same time. We also wanted to be certain the new venture was management-driven."



Tilden: "An unparalleled management team."

by the existing team, rather than buying them displaced by an inexperienced crew from some conglomerate."

For his part, Marvin Tilden, CEO of the Northern Stores and a veteran Bay man, declared "Many people say this is the end of an era, but I don't see it that way. We'll come out of it a better organization because we'll be a company solely dedicated to the North, well-financed and with an unparalleled management team."

The purchase price worked out to

about \$215 million, which included assumption of \$21.5 million in accounts payable and an \$8-million fee for the right to continue selling HBC trademark merchandise. The purchase was financed by \$108 million in loans from the Toronto-Dominion Bank and the HBC taking back a note for \$24 million. Most of the balance has come from a dozen equity partners, with Metrol Trust taking \$5 per cent, the existing Northern Stores management about 10 per cent and a Winnipeg financier \$6 per cent.

Other major investors include the Saskatchewan government, the Manitoba Teacher's Retirement Allowance Fund, the Investors Syndicate group and one of Winnipeg's most distinguished families, the Bakers, who will be represented on the board by Derek (eleventh chairman) and Conrad, Jr., holding their stock through United Canadian Shares Ltd. Significantly, several knowledgeable former HBC directors and executives, including Sir Martin Joseph, Hugh Sutherland, Don Wood and Peter Wood, have also become private investors in the new firm, as has Gus Leach of Winnipeg.

As well as the 178 retail outlets, the new company, known as Hudson's Bay Northern Stores until a more permanent name is chosen, has taken over the HBC's two airplanes and a 3,000-ton freighter named the Kamskap, used to supply its Labrador and eastern Arctic stores. The operation, which is the second-largest employer in the Canadian North after the government, has 3,600 employees and continues to buy from 50 of its trading units.

There is a fascinating twist to this deal that will not become evident for another two years. Way back in 1921, the HBC absorbed the North West Company, after what was the longest and bloodiest commercial feud ever waged in this country. The Nor'Westers always felt that was unfair because they were much more daring risk-takers and had explored a far larger chunk of Canada. Now, their derangement may finally be rewarded and the Canadian hinterland may once again belong to the Nor'Westers. The new name, already adopted by the holding company, which combines the mutual interests that have taken over the HBC's northern operations, is the North West Company Inc. If that becomes the permanent trademark two years from now, as expected, Canadian history will have been turned upside down.

Pick a car. Any car.

Naturally you'd expect Tilden

to offer a complete choice of luxury cars and economy cars and middle-of-the-road cars.

But unlike many of our competitors we also rent sports cars and convertibles and Magic Wagons and cars specially equipped for skiers and mini buses and, of course, trucks in many shapes and sizes.

You see, we know that sometimes you need a special vehicle for a special occasion.

But sometimes it's nice to just drive something a little out of the ordinary.

We're in the pleasing business.

TILDEN



* Tilden rewards frequent flyers. * Phone for car reservations anywhere in Canada, and also worldwide through our international affiliates. * Tilden rents many makes and models, and features cars in Canada's largest fleet.

A CASE AGAINST THE CROWN

By Walter Stewart

In his 1978 book, *Unsettling Lies the Head: The Truth About Canada's Crown Corporations*, published this week by Collins, Walter Stewart chronicles and analyzes what he says are the uncontrolled excesses of public enterprise in Canada. As well, he offers recommendations for bringing the Crown's "excesses" to heel. *Edited extracts.*

Crown corporations touch us every day, all day. We awake in the morning to the news brought to us, in many cases, by a federal Crown. The electricity to heat it through our radiators is the product of a provincial Crown working hand in hand with a municipal Crown. We brush our teeth in water piped in by another municipal Crown and breakfast on eggs sold through a federal Crown, made tasteless by bread from wheat marketed by the Canadian Wheat Board and butter courtesy of the Canadian Dairy Commission. The jam comes from private enterprise.

All day long we are harassed by Crown. One of them brings us—or doesn't, it all depends—the mail, which is moved to us, in its own good time, by Air Canada or City of air, in the form of flying delight, along the St. Lawrence Seaway. We may fly on a federal Crown or take a provincial bus or take our chances on Via Rail.

If we live in British Columbia, that before of free enterprise, we can drive our Crown-turreted auto onto a Crown ferry, slip through Crown-run harbor facilities to a Crown-owned airport to catch a Crown-owned airplane. Thank God, we tell ourselves, we have beaten back the socialist borders. We may take these little things to a cousin in Manitoba, who will receive the glad tidings through a provincial Crown telephone company.

If we take to drink, a provincial Crown is happy to provide the booze, and when, as a result, we begin to feel peckish again or imagine that we are peckish again, a provincialist will tell us to take it easy, why not take in a little flavored by Tiffin Canada or take a stroll up the St. Lawrence?

By my estimate—there is no firm figure—we own at least 400 Crowns at the federal level and close to 500 more at the provincial level. They are by far our largest corporations. The largest nonfinancial firm in Canada, measured by assets, are Ontario Hydro and Hydro-Québec.

Our Crowns are so huge and so numerous that they can, at all, overwhelm governments until, as Auditor General Kenneth Dye has written, "Parliament may not be able to exercise its fundamental responsibility for

oversaw receipts and expenditures of funds."

That was not just a bureaucrat's complaint. The Canadian body politic is livid with the waste, and the Canadian pocketbook is flat with the damage, that the Crowns can cause us.

Now Petro-Canada, the Crown charged with, among other things, developing research in the oil industry, bought into a French company called HEC in 1981, in a secret deal, for about \$17 million. It then hired a subsidiary of HEC to take over crucial research on offshore oil projects, including the crucial question: how do we get the stuff ashore? The answer will belong to France, although we get a copy of the data.

Then Petro-Canada dismissed an unnamed mass of its own offshore oil researchers, breaking up one of the most talented armies of scientific specialists on earth. One of the contracts with the French company, for \$275,000, includes pay rates of \$52 an hour for secretaries in France.

Internal memos show, moreover, that the new research is not being carried out. The way Petro-Canada dismissed the French company was passed the work to another subsidiary.

And if you want to know if \$17 million worth of your money can be spent this way without any questions asked, the answer is yes, if it is done through a Crown. Those details have never been made public—and now.

Now Two Canadian Crown corporations became involved in a cartel in 1972 to boost the international price of uranium, at the instance of the federal government. They, in turn, kept four private firms into the arrangement. All four companies were taken to court in the United States, so the Canadian government passed a series of regulations making it a crime punishable by five years in jail to release any information about the cartel. It became illegal even to quote statements that had been made in Parliament. The reasoning was that the wicked Yankees were trying to apply their confidence law to our firms, so it was arranged to keep the American courts from getting the information they required.

Then, after a complaint by our own director of companies investigations, the six companies were charged with violating Canadian law.

The two Crowns went to court to argue that they could not be charged, because they were Crown and, as a result, immune. They won, too. That left only the private companies left into the plan to take the consequences, so the charges against them were dropped.

When they were appointed, the Conservatives ruled against the pay laws that covered up this mess, after three years in government the regulations are still in place.

Now, in 1981 Petro-Canada bought out Petrofina Canada Inc., a private company, and Parliament authorized a price tag of \$1.7 billion. A storm broke out after Alfredo Corrao, Petrofina's founder, said that the price paid was "so far



CRC control room: a minister in charge of privatization, which sounds like something consenting adults do in the dark.

beyond what any company would pay for it, or what the market was indicating, that I wonder how it makes any sense."

Petrofina's stock price at the time was about \$80 a share. Petro-Canada paid \$180. Not surprisingly, Auditor General Dye wanted to look into the purchase, but he was blocked by the Liberal government from getting access to the necessary documents.

The then-opposition leader, Brian Mulroney, was outraged and demanded that "The Prime Minister brought upon the books to the auditor general of Canada and to the people of Canada." Then he became Prime Minister—and refused to open the books. By the time Dye was a court decision to gain at least some of the access he needed, some of the documents were gone. The accounting firm of Ernst & Whinney, which was asked to do a study on the sale for the government, said that because of "missing or destroyed documents," it could not properly estimate the exact value of the Petrofina shares before the takeover. When he heard that, Dye remarked, "Something smells, doesn't it?" But exactly what, we may never know.

Now Ontario Hydro, Canada's largest Crown corporation, has contracts with two uranium negotiators under which it will, by the end of the century, have accumulated \$2.6 billion worth of uranium for which it will have no use. Under the contracts, the companies are guaranteed a minimum of \$6 billion in profit. They are also guaranteed that the price paid to them for uranium will go on rising as market what happens to the world price in 1985 Ontario Hydro paid an average of \$14 a pound for uranium when the world spot price averaged \$30.

Now Canadian, the aircraft Crown, sold 35 Challenger jets to Federal Express in the United States for about \$4 million (U.S.) each in 1978. But Federal Express cancelled the order for 20 of them, it would take only five. Then it purchased Canadian to sell four of the five on its behalf at a profit. In the end Federal paid Canadian \$4.4 million for one Challenger and received back \$8.4 million as its profit on the four planes the Crown firm sold for it. It settled one free aircraft plus \$4 million for not buying the others.

Now Two federal Crowns, the Canadian National Corp. and the Freshwater Fish Marketing Corp., collected \$100,000 in a single year, 1985, by trading on the incompensated of Canada Post, another Crown. The two companies, instead of transferring income to Ottawa by bank transfer or courier, sent it by mail, which took anywhere from three to 18 days to send its way to Ottawa. The \$100,000 came from collecting interest on the funds while they waited in the bank for the mail to get through.

Canadians may take what comfort they can from the notion that we are not alone in this game. Every nation has government enterprises, whether or not they are called Crowns. In the United States, where there is much public celebration over the fact that the government has avoided the note of socialism near the border, there are, according to Annamaria Handl-Walk's study *The Public's Business*, 34,000 government enterprises.

New York state has 530 of them, including the Port Authority of New York, which owns the bridges, tunnels and airports in and around New York City, along with the airports. It also owns and runs its own railway. Pennsylvania has 1,352 enterprises in charge of everything from the



McDonald's details not public—and now



Corvette plant in Montreal (top below) — a body panel out with the water—and the pocketbook hit with the damage

Pennsylvania Turnpike to housing in Philadelphia. The 1983 census of governmental organizations turned up 12,536 government firms at the county, municipal and township level, swiping everything from 2,189 airports to 3,205 sewer systems, and not a socialist in the bunch.

At the federal level, the Tennessee Valley Authority, a U.S. government firm, is larger than any Canadian Crown, with more than \$11 billion in annual revenues. The only larger corporation on the continent is another U.S. government firm, the Post Office.

All that activity does not prevent the Americans from playing us and all our Crownies.

There are many myths surrounding the Crowns, including the myth that they are a part of our history, something that exists on different from the Americans. In fact, until the 1950s the Americans had more government firms than we did. In 1953 the American federal government was the largest power producer in the land, the largest lender and the largest borrower, the largest landlord and the largest tenant, the largest holder of grazing land, the largest owner of grain, the largest warehouse operator, and the nation's pre-eminent shipowner and flat-truck operator.

It was only with the onset of McCarthyism, and the suspicion that anything that smacked of government was smacked of communism, that the Americans began to dis-

mantle their government firms, and they did so mainly at the federal level.

In Canadian history, there were few Crowns. Mostly, the thing was done in the good old free-enterprise way, as with the Canadian Pacific Railway, where the government put up the money and the private entrepreneurs used it—quite often, they just ran off with it.

The First World War and the Depression pushed Canada reluctantly into forming a Bank of Canada, a national airline and a national broadcasting system. We already had a national railway, but by default, the government took over the collapsing pieces of private railways to prevent bankruptcy.

The real explosion in Crowns began about 1961, it was never planned or supervised, it just happened, mostly by one Crown creating a lot of other Little Crowns to help out.

When Petro-Canada started up in 1976 it began with three men in a Calgary hotel room and an expense account for cars. Now it has \$9 billion in assets, two multimillion office towers and 30 subsidiaries. If it had been suggested, while the enabling legislation was being discussed, that one company would become 34 companies in less than a decade, no one would have believed it.

But that is how the Crowns grew, from modest and accidental beginnings early in the century to a mushrooming—dark but fruitful—in the 1960s and 1970s.

It is in their silent, secret growth that makes the Crowns so frightening. They are getting out of control, and the only way we seem to be able to deal with them is to sell them, which is often no solution at all. We even have a federal cabinet minister, Barbara McDougall, in charge of privatization, which sounds like something conventional adults do in the dark.

"Privatize" means sell. Actually, it usually means sell at

The car on the left is worth 30% less than the car on the right.



The car on the left, which doesn't have a scratch, has depreciated roughly 30% in less than a year.

The car on the right, which has been declared a write-off by the insurance company, is still worth almost what its owner paid for it.

That's because its owner has the Royal Shock Absorber® car loan option.

For example, if your new \$12,600 car is written off, due to collision or fire within 12 months of purchase, your insurance company may only give you credit for the depreciated value of \$8,400, not what you originally paid. We will credit your loan with the difference, \$3,600—or the

balance of your loan outstanding on the date of loss, whichever is less.

Shock Absorber® normally costs you \$25 for the full year. But it's yours right now at no cost. It's available on Royal Buy-Back® and regular car loans.

If you have an existing new car loan elsewhere, you can switch your loan to us and add the Royal Shock Absorber option for the balance of the first year. Get full details on Shock Absorber at any Royal Bank branch. Your car's well worth it.

Royal Bank does not guarantee a particular value for your car. The value of your car is determined by the insurance company. The value of your car is determined by the insurance company. The value of your car is determined by the insurance company.



ROYAL BANK

Member of the Royal Bank Group Limited.



Sorting mail, Mulroney (below): a silent and secret growth

a huge loss, as we did when we swallowed over \$1 billion in debt from Canada and then sold the remains for \$150 million. The aircraft company showed assets at the time of the sale of \$470 million.

But if we are going to sell the Crowns—and that is certainly a solution for some of them, starting with Petro-Canada—we face two questions. In the first place, who can afford to buy them, with accumulated assets, at the federal level alone, topping \$75 billion? And in the second, if we are selling the Crowns, which ones will find a ready market, the smoothly functioning profit-making Crowns or the clunkers that cause most of the trouble? Would you buy shares in Canada Post? Via Rail?

But there are solutions to the vexing problems of our Crowns, and three years of study has caused me to draw up a list of Seven Rules that will, if applied soon and rigorously, help us out of the morass.

1. Let There Be Light

The key rule is to open the Crowns to greater public access. For one thing, we should move at once to appoint the auditor general of Canada as auditor for every federal Crown and the provincial auditors general as auditors of the provincial Crowns. Many of our major Crown hire private firms to look over the books, which is expensive and dangerous. The auditor general is not responsible to the government but to Parliament, he has a big shiny whistle, and he loves to blow it. There is nothing like a squealer on the provision to promote virtue, and the auditor general is a squealer par excellence.

2. Sort and Prioritize

Almost every legislative jurisdiction in the country either now has, or shortly will have, a minister responsible for privatization, and he or she ought to make it part of his

or her business to recatalogue all the Crowns. It would be nice to have a central register somewhere, with a complete listing. At both federal and provincial levels, we also need a recatalogue of the rules governing the formation of Crowns and a constant definition of what is a Crown.

Currently there are three types of Crown: departmental Crowns, which operate much as if they were part of a government department—the Agricultural Stabilization Board, for example, agency Crowns, which are "quasi-commercial," such as Canada Post, and proprietary or "businesslike" Crowns such as Air Canada. The definitions are hopelessly out of date. The CBC is a proprietary Crown, which means it is "ordinarily required to conduct its operations" without extra money from Parliament, although if it were to attempt to do so, all we would get on the CBC would be *Myname Ancient and Modern*, and tips on how to redecorate your den.

Then there are the "others," a great gaggle of semi-organized Crowns including the Bank of Canada and Via Rail. There are no firm rules for either forming or controlling those. When one Crown can quietly whistle up five subsidiaries without making a word to Parliament, as the Canada Lands Co. did, there is something wrong. It ought not to be beyond the mind of man to come up with a set of standard rules to define what constitutes a Crown. I can't help feeling that much of the confusion is deliberate, just another way of escaping legislative control.

3. Smack the Crowns

Government enterprises in Canada are allowed to own a share of private corporations, as the Canada Development Corp. does. (It owns, among other things, all or part of a petrochemical company, a life sciences company, an energy corporation and an office automation firm, all of which are controlled by private enterprise.) That is not permitted in the United States, for good reason. It produces the worst of all hybrids: a firm with access to public funds but beyond public control. That is not merely confusing, but dangerous. In a recent report to Parliament, the auditor general cited 35 cases in which "financial and other information available to Parliament is fragmented and incongruous."

If governments want to operate in the commercial sector—and in most cases, they ought not to—they should do so as governments. If they want to support private companies, they ought to do so by way of grants, subsidies, loans or guarantees, all subject to the inspection and control of legislatures. If the loans sink and they wind up paying something they did not intend to own, they ought to get rid of it.

4. Don't Give Us Salvation, Just Understanding

Half of the problem with Crowns comes from a misapprehension of their function. They are political animals. That is what they are for. Politics, like sex, represents primal issues in Canada, but that has not substantially interfered with either function—only with our understanding of it. It is a perfectly legitimate role of government to decide to invest money for political and social reasons, for example, to create jobs in an unemployment-stricken area. A Crown corporation is one way to do that. Creating the Case-Brite Tidy-Opent Corp. in Nova Scotia made sense; it was done to keep the road business from disappearing, along with thousands of jobs. It also made sense to turn the Hydrex Steel Corp. into a Crown. What does not make sense is, having taken these

One cup of
Melitta coffee
and they
just assume
my closets are
jammed with
Calvin, Alfred,
and Ralph.



COFFEE • COFFEE FILTERS • COFFEEMAKERS



political steps, is to try to pretend that what was involved was hand-sanded economics and that, as a result, everything can be hidden from the public on the grounds that this is, after all, a commercial operation.

If it is commercial, let it pay for itself. If it cannot pay for itself, then it must abide by the rules of the public sector, which means, first and foremost, full disclosure. Full disclosure, it is always stressed, will hurt the firm competitively. We had it: it is the necessary price of government support.

5. Establish the Precondition of Guilt

You don't have to be a cynic, merely a reader, to form the impression that, left to themselves, the Crowns will be up to every kind of deviltry, with the aid of government funds. As well, history has shown us that, because they are Crowns, they are often in a difficult position when it comes to bargaining with unions. The pit is pretty well bottomless. If a tough strike has been provoked against a Crown, it will always be easier to settle at whatever price than to face the fiasco in Parliament because the country has been brought to a standstill. We pay heavily for strikes in the post office, on the Crown railways or on the Seaway.

These things being so, it ought to be very difficult for anyone to create or maintain a Crown. We have enough, too many, far, far too many, and anybody who wants to form another one ought to have to comply with the most rigorous rules under the Financial Administration Act, or a provincial equivalent, and in the teeth of a strong presumption that there is likely to be waste and wickedness afoot.

6. Privatization if Necessary, But Not Else

There are a large number of Crowns now operating in the public sector that properly belong in the private sector. But—and it is a large but—the movement in that direction ought to be taken with care.

We no longer need a government service to fly the routes from Toronto and Ottawa to Montreal, or from Calgary and Edmonton to Vancouver. But we do need, and will always need, an airline to fly from, say, Moose Jaw to Thompson, then Agassiz, what we want to do is to privatize—at a big fat profit—the part that will support itself commercially, and keep the rest in a Crown.

Our own desire of Crowns, with hundreds and hundreds of subsidiaries, that we never had or have just the need to be Crowns, but it does not follow that we ought to privatize them all, even if we could get a market to absorb them all.

Many should simply be written off or gradually allowed to atrophy; many should be absorbed back into government departments (cheaply, I do not see why the Royal Canadian Mounted should not be run out of the department of finance), and some should remain as they are, with stricter accountability and control.

It is foolish, in my mind, to talk of selling off the Canadian Broadcasting Corp., although God knows it could be redeemed without any harm done. The Canadian Wheat Board has run well for decades and ought to be governed by the strictest book-don't-flout rule. Privatization may provide fast funds for beleaguered governments, but it is at best only a partial solution for some of our Crowns. We will certainly come to regret having sold Telecel Canada, with its monopoly on over-the-air electronic communications, to the private sector.

7. A Sunset Law

The history of government enterprises—not only our own, but all over the world—shows that they all tend to follow the same pattern: A Crown created for social policy and social reasons becomes, over time, nothing more than an entrenched bureaucratic organization defending itself against all concern with public opinion and society. What we need, then, is a periodic review of such Crowns before a parliamentary committee. Most would not need to be looked at more than once a decade, and they would only need to respond to two questions: why were you incorporated and what have you been up to?

Comparing the original legislation or regulations with current performance would allow us to dispassionately, with many of them, reform others and keep a salutary eye on the rest.

All seven of my points are really one—an argument that in any nation there will always be useful, political and mixed social-political-and-economic goals that can best be achieved through government enterprise. In a limited number of cases, a separate corporation is more effective than, say, a departmental organization, or simply slipping a subsidiary to a private firm. Like the post, Crowns will be always with us. At the same time, cruel experience has taught us that there is a constant danger that self-perpetuating, self-enslaving, self-promoting Crowns will always try to shake off the shackles that are a tool and go forth to be fruitful and multiply. That is as argument to control Crowns, not an argument to reject the concept of government enterprises. ☐



via train: psychiatric advice about pain, spiders and powered eggs



SOUNDS GREAT!

Words and Music to go...

This Stylish Stereo Cassette Player is YOURS with Maclean's at Half-Price!

Going places? Take along your own personal stereo cassette player, it's yours with Maclean's at 50% off!



good looks make it easy to show off!

Precision-engineered with state-of-the-art circuitry, your cassette player wraps you in superb stereo sound. The jitter-free chassis means you can play the hits with no errors. The adjustable headphones let you listen to your favourite cassettes without disturbing others. And thick foam-soft pads pamper your ears with sumptuous comfort.

So, whether you're plugged into Bach, rock or business talk, it plays it just for you. And, backed by a one-year warranty—it's the only way to go! Best of all,

it's your gift with Maclean's, Canada's Weekly Newsmagazine, your weekly playback of Canadian and world news.

Put your entertainment and information resources on fast-forward, send for your very own Stereo Cassette Player plus Maclean's at half the cover price—NOW!

<p>Mail to: Maclean's, Box 4900, Station A, Mississauga, Ont. L4N 6A7</p> <p>Stereo Cassette Player <i>plays with Maclean's at Half-Price!</i></p>	
<p><input type="checkbox"/> Bill me \$45.50 for 52 issues Send Cassette Player when I pay</p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> PRIORITY SERVICE! I enclose \$45.50—send Cassette Player A.S.A.P.</p>
<p>First Name _____ Last Name _____</p>	
<p>Address _____ Apt. _____</p>	
City _____	Postal Code _____
<p>LONGER TERM SAVINGS! <input type="checkbox"/> Bill me \$91 for 104 issues Send Cassette Player when I pay</p>	
<p>PRIORITY SERVICE! I enclose \$91—send Cassette Player A.S.A.P.</p>	
<p><small>Please allow 4-6 weeks for delivery of your gift after receipt of payment. *\$92.00</small></p>	

Tales of a spy writer

In an unexpected turn of events, three London newspapers last week carried stories based on the manuscript of a controversial book about spies, which the British government has so far prevented from being published in Australia. *The Independent* was the first to defy a year-old court injunction and print details from *Spycatcher*, the memoirs of former British espionage agent Peter Wright. His charges that in 1974 members of the British counter-intelligence agency MI-6 plotted against then-Labour prime minister Harold Wilson. Two other London dailies, the *Evening Standard* and *Daily News*, swiftly followed—leading the government to launch contempt-of-court proceedings against all three for defying the ban against publishing any of the allegations in the memoirs.

The situation sparked a furore in Parliament, with some opposition MPs clamouring for a full investigation—not only into Wright's allegations, but into the workings of British security. Disgraced Liberal Leader David Steel "Indisposed of the government spending time and effort trying to stuff cats back into their bags, they should set up an inquiry into the operations of the security service."

The events of last week also underscored an ongoing dilemma for the British government, which is opposed to any extensive secrecy acts to suppress publication of information related to security matters. As a result, a frustrated British press is frequently left to speculate about corruption surrounding the security services. That, in turn, feeds a market still as capable of reporting scandal as any documented facts. Since the 1980s an extensive list of double agents has emerged, including Guy Burgess, Donald Maclean, Kim Philby and Anthony Blunt. In 1981, British journalist Chapman Pincher published a book about these so-called double agents called *They Were With Us*, which claimed that their protector was Sir Roger Hollis, the former director of MI-6, even though Hollis had been officially cleared of suspicion in 1954, a year after he died. However, rumors of his involvement continue.

Peter Wright, 51, who now lives in Australia, was apparently a key source of that allegation, and he addresses the Middle East in his own unpublished book. But the control, threat of *Spycatcher*, rife with charges of treason, cover-up and assassination plots, concerns Wilson, who served three terms as prime minister between 1964 and 1970. Wright charges that about 30

members of MI-6 spied on, conspired against and defamed Wilson while he was in office, their suspicions fired by Wilson's frequent trips to Moscow.

Meanwhile, the trial, provided by a lawsuit the British government brought



Wright, his wife, Lois, Wilson (below) 'subversive'

against Wright last July, continues in a Sydney courtroom. The government has accused Wright of violating his promise as a British agent not to disclose the inner workings of MI-6, which he served as a high-ranking official until he retired in 1975. In cooperation with the trial, the British government obtained a court order forbidding the British press from reporting information arising from the proceedings. But the testimony has been widely publicized elsewhere.

For his part, Andreas Whitman-Smith, editor

of *The Independent*—who claimed that a copy of the *Spycatcher* manuscript came into his hands unolicited—said that it was ludicrous that the British Parliament and public had been denied information so easily accessible to the rest of the world. Declared Whitman-Smith, "It is in the public interest that Peter Wright's allegations of treasonable attempts by MI-6 officers to discredit the prime minister of the day should be brought into the open."

After the London dailies printed the story, Wilson called for a government inquiry into the alleged plot against him. In an interview with another London newspaper, the *Daily Mail*, he said, "I think that when there is evidence of subversion within the security services, the government not only has the right but the duty to go on." But Conservative Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher said that an investigation had already been carried out in 1977 under then-Labour prime minister James Callaghan, Wilson's successor, and that he dismissed the allegations.

Still, former Labour minister Marilyn Bann, who was home secretary under Callaghan, argued that the 1977 investigation was limited to allegations that the security service had installed electronic listening devices in 10 Downing Street and Wilson's private residence, and did not cover the fresh implications of treason and treachery. Callaghan, now a backbencher, has come under intense pressure from Labour now to demand an investigation, but so far he has resisted.

Thatcher says that she has no obligation to launch an inquiry because the supposed events occurred before she had taken office. By week's end, Wilson said that he had changed his mind about an inquiry and would accept Thatcher's decision. His reason: "She is a little closer to it than I am."

—MAYN McFEE with
1215 WITTEN in London

Who cares?



In Sudan, a child is slowly wasting away. In Mali, learning abilities are being dulled by malnutrition. In Sierra Leone, another child dies.

Who cares? The children, certainly. The parents, achingly. The community despairingly. But what about us? All it takes to make a difference in a child's life is a spark of caring. We can show you how to turn concern into action. Your contribution through Foster Parents Plan can help stem the tide of poverty, and slowly but effectively prevent its ravages.

We are a human development agency. Our programs are fueled by simple human concern, and

directed at simple solutions to the basic problems of a child, family and community in the developing world. We work in medical care, education, water provision, vocational training, and more, with community input and labor.

Self-reliance is our goal for each area in which we work... a goal shared which there is no step too painstaking. We care about the people we work with. We believe in their inherent abilities. They, and the children, have so much potential. If only someone cares. **You**... your support... your concern.

Prove that you care, today.

CALL TOLL-FREE ANY TIME 1-800-268-7174
Information will be sent immediately

PLAN		FOSTER PARENTS PLAN OF CANADA	
(An International Human Development Agency)			
100 ST. CLAIR AVENUE WEST, TORONTO, CANADA M5V 1P5			
Address	Country	City	State
I enclose my cheque for \$100.00 Monthly <input type="checkbox"/> \$25.00 Quarterly <input type="checkbox"/>			
I can't become a Foster Parent right now. However, I enclose my contribution of \$_____.			
Please send me more information <input type="checkbox"/> Tel. No. _____			
Mr <input type="checkbox"/> Mrs <input type="checkbox"/> Miss <input type="checkbox"/>	Address _____		
City _____	Prov _____	Code _____	
I wish communication with PLAN to be in English <input type="checkbox"/> French <input type="checkbox"/>			
PLAN operates in Australia, Hong Kong, India, Israel, Japan, Korea, Lebanon, Nepal, Philippines, Sri Lanka, Taiwan, Thailand, USA, USSR, and Vietnam. Foster Parents Plan of Canada is officially registered as a Canadian Charitable Organization by the federal government. Contributions are tax deductible.			

What Foster Parents Plan are proud of the handling of our funds. 88.2% of all contributions go directly toward child and family material and services, with 5.4% used for administration costs, and 5.4% for promotion. We are non-profit, non-sectarian and non-political and we are officially registered as a Canadian Charitable Organization by the Federal Government (Reg. No. 82-0856-16-13). Complete financial statements are available on request.





Jim and Tammy Faye Bakker, *Fellow* (below) allegations, denials and huge debts

RELIGION

TV's raging holy wars

Signs of compassion have blossomed at Heritage USA, in Fort Mill, S.C. There, at the so-called Christian Disneyland, beds of white-grooved flowers still cut the road. "Purgatory" That message was recorded for Jim Bakker, former ruler of the PTL Ministry, a \$204-million religious empire that includes the sprawling gospel-themed amusement park and a continent-wide TV network. The television evangelist resigned from PTL this month amid far from the Lord and People That Love in March amid revelations that he had engaged in a one-night sexual encounter with a young church secretary seven years ago. Still, his supporters in the 500,000-member organization had predicted that he would soon return to power. But critics have dashed those hopes by leveling new allegations of immorality—and financial mismanagement—against him. Declared Rev. Jerry Falwell, the new chairman of the soundly-evangelical church, last week. "His ministry here has ceased."

Now, Falwell faces the difficult task of restoring PTL to financial and spiritual health. To that end, he and the five other PTL board members held a five-hour board meeting last week and later berated Bakker, cutting off all further payments to him and his wife, Tammy Faye, and hired a new chief operating officer. The board also asked Rev. Richard Dortch to resign from the PTL govern-

ment and give up his job as host of PTL broadcasts. A longtime Bakker associate, Dortch had been involved in a plan to use as much as \$200,000 in ministry funds to buy the silence of Jessica Hahn, the long Island, N.Y., woman who had sex with Bakker in a Florida motel in 1980. As a result, PTL is now searching for a new TV preacher—and is considering such candidates as Canadian TV evangelist David Meade, host of the Toronto-based program 100 Hershey Street (declared Falwell: "We are asking the Lord to lead us to the right person.")

But Falwell admitted that recovery for PTL was an uncertain road. Said Falwell: "This scandal causes a national distrust of all who preach the gospel. A lot of faith has been shattered." Certainly, fresh accusations by another television evangelist—Rev. John Ankerberg of Chattanooga, Tenn.—helped destroy Bakker's stated goal of returning to the PTL fold. On April 24, Ankerberg said that he had evidence that Bakker had engaged in homosexual acts and slept with prostitutes. Ankerberg added that his information came from tape-recorded statements made by witnesses to the sexual activities.

At week's end, in the first news conference he has held since his resignation, Bakker talked briefly with reporters outside his Palm Springs, Calif., home. Said Bakker: "We just wanted to come and say hello to you today. Tammy and I are alive. We may not be too well." Added Tammy, who is reportedly being treated for drug dependency at the nearby Betty Ford addiction center: "Barely!" Then, with his trademark wife at his side, Bakker denied that he was homosexual and said that he had never visited a prostitute or engaged in with swapping. Bakker also said that the couple would not try to regain

the PTL leadership. Said Bakker: "I do not want to fight. I'm writing a book and we'll be telling our side of the story. But we don't want to be part of a circus." Meanwhile, the new PTL chief operating officer, Dallas theme-park consultant Harold Hargrove, is trying to find ways to liquidate PTL's \$57-million debt. Said Hargrove: "The books are a mess. We have additions in right now and they'll be there until we get it all sorted out." Hargrove, who will receive a \$204,000 yearly salary for his efforts, said that PTL may sell its church-owned houses and several runs and boats as it strives to balance its books.

At the same time, auditors will examine the holdings of the Bakkers, who received \$2.1 million in salaries and bonuses last year. The couple has also amassed at least \$1.1 million worth of real estate and cars in recent years, including the \$466,000 Palm Springs residence, which the Bakkers say they purchased with their own money.

Despite the couple's withdrawal from the television ministry that they founded 18 years ago, longtime observers of the televangelist church do not expect them to be absent from the airwaves for long. Indeed, one of them, journalism professor Stephen Wimsenberg of the University of Wisconsin in River Falls, predicted that the Bakkers will soon start another television church. Said Wimsenberg: "This pair can't live without being on television."

—SABR BLACK in New York



Auguste Renoir: *Le Moulin de la Galette*

"Live now, believe me, wait not till tomorrow, gather today the roses of life..." Pierre de Ronsard

How fleeting the soft, warm seasons. Springs brief bloom, fugitive summer, the swift fall of Autumn... you have so few a regard in delight, a city's soft colors, its roses fresh and green, when you may gather them for long pleasure today.

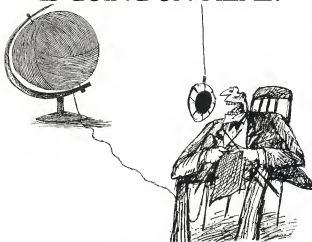
Come to our garden in the sun, sit down with summer, instead of its inequality.



Le Jardin du Ritz
Ritz-Carlton
Montréal

1000 McGill College, St. W.
Montréal, Québec, H3C 1G1
Tel. (514) 312-4222
Hours of the Lobby
Week of the event
At Hotel with
the restaurant lobby
Tel. (514) 312-4222

WHAT IN THE WORLD IS GOING ON HERE?



THE WORLD TODAY
WEEKDAYS 5:00-6:30 PM.

TEN-TEN
CFRB
AM STEREO

HOW DO YOU KNOW UNLESS YOU LISTEN?

JUSTICE

Protest and prisoners

Residents of the west-Toronto districts of Parkdale and High Park have become accustomed to being among group homes and halfway houses. But Exodus Link—the first privately owned profit-based parole centre for men from federal penitentiaries—is more than they are prepared to tolerate. Since last December as many as 200 people have been taking turns on a picket line to protest the centre in a single-storey building in a storefront section of Dundas Street West. When it opens after renovations are completed this month, about 80 former criminals—many sentenced to prison for murder, rape, arson and drug charges—will check in for daily supervision as they integrate into society.

The protesters claim that there are too many social support programs and facilities in their districts, and they also complain that federal officials did not consult them before approving Exodus Link. Said Stephen Magwood, president of the High Park Home-owners and Residents Association:



Magwood: the fight is far from over

"What's been going on in Parkdale for years has finally been given a point of focus."

Parkdale has one of the highest concentrations of the social services operating in the city, with more than 150 care programs and facilities ranging from group homes for ex-psychiatric patients to drug rehabilitation centres. But to residents there, according to Magwood, Exodus Link is different because of the wide scope of its operation. He added, "The city might have been able to slide in several group homes, but it decided to come in big." The centre, funded by the federal government, will cost more than \$650,000 a year to run. As many as 80 inmates will be required to spend an average of five hours a day at the centre under the supervision of 20 staff members, most of whom have training in psychology or social work. The centre will also provide overnight accommodation for 18 inmates.

According to Albert Steinhilber, co-owner of Exodus Link Corp., the idea for a private profit-based centre emerged because of the frustration he had experienced working for five years as an administrator for halfway houses at the Salvation Army, a worldwide church with a focus on social work. Said Steinhilber, who will have total authority at Exodus Link:

42ND STREET ON

ENW

Life won't have been easier when all you had to envy was a neighbour's car, his success, his misbehaviour, and so forth.

Now there's the Financial Post, the only one of its kind, and the way the magazine's content is the epitome of the best thing going to make on a conventional bridge strategy. Call 1-800-462-4622, or send the coupon.

At 42nd Street we believe every man is a winner of life. In fact, we can show you how to win above it. Talk to us.

You won't hear anything about what we're doing for the other guy. You'll hear everything about what we can do for you.

Call 1-800-462-4622, or send the coupon.

NAME _____
ADDRESS _____
CITY _____
PROV _____
ZIP _____



42ND STREET
A BETTER WAY TO FINANCIAL SUCCESS

"Nonprofit agencies must be run by directors. I see many of my colleagues trying to make a decision and having to struggle with 12 or 14 people."

Althoff, Sturtevant and that he has tried to address some of the local residents' concerns about the center, he added that he is unsympathetic to their outrage at not being consulted. Under a 1978 city zoning bylaw, group homes can be established in residential areas, and crime-care facilities like Exodus Link in commercial zones, without previously contacting the community. According to Magnusson, that law is "outdated" and he wants each facility in an area such as Magnusson. The bylaw is giving to operators of crime-care facilities and group homes. You go where you want, when you want, without telling anyone.

first.¹ It involves some of the system's

As part of the local autonomy provided by the federal government's unprecedented decision to accept Stuebel's proposal, some correctional officials say that the opening of Graham Lock is likely to start an unwelcome trend. Said Graham Stewart, director of reform programs for the Ontario branch of the John Howard Society, a national nonprofit organization for criminal rehabilitation: "We don't want to start having permanent units in place. We want to maintain high standards—and contracting out isn't any way to do it."

According to Stewart, the registration of daily supervision at a centre like Euston Link could discourage many of these ex-convicts who would otherwise be actively trying to rejoin

society. Declared Stewart: "If you have coercive correctional programs, you end up with a classroom full of people who don't want to be there. It just becomes a downhill road. You just keep building the frustration."

The people of Parkdale-High Park have at least won a small victory for their show of opposition. On April 1 the federal government placed a three-year moratorium on other correctional-service properties being placed in the area. But the fight over Exodus Link is far from over, according to Magwood, and residents say that they hope their show of strength will convince the federal government to develop new criteria for dealing with a community problem.

—NORMA FOSTER-SMITH, *Ph.D.*

ENERGY

A nuclear loophole

Millions of people live and work in the cities, suburbs, small towns and on farms that surround Ontario Hydro's nuclear power plant at Pickering, 35 km east of Toronto.

But it is not clear that such a case will be successful. At least some courts have been reluctant to find that the government's actions in the wake of the disaster constitute a "taking" of property. The Supreme Court has ruled that the government's actions in the wake of the disaster constitute a "taking" of property. The Supreme Court has ruled that the government's actions in the wake of the disaster constitute a "taking" of property.

The act, which Parli-
ament proclaimed in 1976,
limits the liability of power-
plant operators in the

event of a nuclear accident to a total of \$75 million. If the act were followed to the letter and, for example, three million people were affected by an accident at Fukushima—their homes and busi-

houses destroyed by fire or contaminated by radioactive fallout—each might receive as little as \$35 in property damages, with no guaranteed entitlement to anything more. Energy Probe's lawyers are filing suit against the federal government, claiming that the act denies victims of nuclear accidents their full rights under the law.

Although the act requires the federal government to establish a compensation program to reverse claims when damage exceeds the \$75-million ceiling, it does not force the government to provide any further compensation. In addition, the act requires that victims file damage claims within 30 years of the incident. Any claimants who develop cancer, genetic diseases or other resulting deficiencies after that would have no legal recourse. A federal interdepartmental working group that has been reviewing the act since 1982 argued opponents of those policies in 1984, when it released a discussion paper suggesting that the \$75-million limit and 30-year cutoff on claims be adequate. But Energy Department charges that the committee



restriction is merely a symptom of the real problem, which is that the operators of nuclear power plants are not being held responsible for risks they create. Said Energy Probe lawyer David Poeh: "It's not just that it is inadequate, it is counterproductive. We want them to do away with the act."

Poeh argues that the very existence of the act limits the responsibility of the operators of Canada's six major nuclear generating stations in Ontario, Quebec and New Brunswick. Instead, he says, the power-station operators should be liable for the entire cost of

compensation, and they should be forced to carry enough insurance to cover any potential risks. Said Poeh: "That \$75 million doesn't go very far when you're talking about nuclear melting down on Toronto." He added that the insurance industry should be free to determine the price of insurance that is necessary. "Risk assessment is what these guys do for a living," he said. "They're the guys who should be figuring it out—Lloyd's of London, not Ontario Hydro."

Currently, all liability policies for the country's nuclear power industry are

covered by the Nuclear Insurance Association of Canada, a Toronto-based coalition of Canada's 98 nuclear insurance companies. Association manager Dale Wood said that he is disappointed with the working group's position, and he pointed out that the consumer price index has more than doubled since the act was written in 1976.

The group, representing the Atomic Energy Control Board (AECB), the Treasury Board and the departments of energy, finance, insurance and justice, is expected to report to Energy Minister Marcel Masse this summer. But Poeh said that Energy Probe refused to participate in the review because "it appeared to be a sham." Indeed, Poeh charged that the group had reached an agreement on its policy before it issued public comment on its interim report. Said Poeh: "It was basically a list of their conclusions saying, 'Everything is hunky-dory.'" But group chairman Robert Blackburn, AECB director of planning, told *Maclean's* that the group is considering all the comments it has received. He added, "If Energy Probe had submitted comments, those comments would have been considered."

For his part, Edward Berdette, Ontario Hydro's executive vice-president, says that the limits may need to be increased to compensate for inflation but that they should also reflect the likelihood of an accident as well as the possible damage that one could cause. Berdette, who says that Ontario Hydro paid \$1 million for liability insurance on its Pickering plant alone last year, points out that there has never been a claim made under the act.

But with the effects of the worst nuclear accident in history still being felt in the Soviet Union, the consequences of such a catastrophe are no longer simply a matter of conjecture. A year ago an explosion at a nuclear reactor in the Ukraine spread clouds of radiation-contaminated dust across the U.S.S.R. and parts of Western Europe.

The death toll from the disaster at Chernobyl, 100 km north of Kiev, is estimated at 31. But medical experts are concerned that serious genetic abnormalities could occur in up to 10,000 people. And if an accident of similar or larger proportions were to occur in Canada, Canadians would have little recourse through the insurance industry. Beyond property damage, almost all personal insurance policies exclude death or injury from nuclear accidents. Clearly, when the federal working group submits its recommendations this summer, many Canadians will be hoping that the nuclear industry will be forced to reconsider its responsibilities.

—ANNE REEVEY in Toronto with
CHRIS BERNARDINI in Toronto

We'll stop at nothing to be your copier company.



That's right. We said copier. See what we're up against? No one—well, hardly anyone—knows we sell them. So we have to resort to extraordinary measures to get people to discover how advanced and reliable our copiers are, and that

they're backed up by Pitney Bowes' legendary service.

We'll give you a five-year guarantee. We'll spoil you with a supplies and service program tailored to your own special needs. We'll surprise you with prices that are more than "competitive." And worship the ground you walk on. Honest.

Give us a call: toll-free, and you'll see. 1-800-263-4660 ext. 130

Systems and service that just won't quit.

 **Pitney Bowes**

The Valhalla Inn

TORONTO

Warmth is more important than bigness.



“66 weekdays. Weekends. The warmth and comfortable elegance at The Valhalla Inn makes us feel right at home.”

Bar and Phil Robinson, Toronto

1 VALHALLA INN BOWEN, TORONTO, ONTARIO
CALL (416) 239-2381. TELEX 08-894514
CALL TOLL-FREE IN CANADA (800) 368-2500



THE VALHALLA INN, TORONTO, KITCHENER, THUNDER BAY



3 Tandy 1000 SX systems, 3 great ways to save

Buy a Tandy 1000 SX, pick a monitor, and bank the savings. That's how easy it is to get the ideal computer system for your small office. You get the versatility, expandability and great value of the 1000 SX as well as all the standard features — PC compatibility, Desqview II software, built-in modem for a parallel printer, joystick and light pen and more. Plus you get the dependability of the Tandy name — and some of the best after sale service and support around. Choose a Tandy 1000 SX system today and get more for your business dollar. 25-1051 VM-4 monochrome, 12" screen displays 80 x 25 text, 640 x 200 graphics. 25-1020 Reg. sep. items 1929.95... **sale 1499.00** CM-5 colour monitor, 13" screen displays 90 x 25 text, 640 x 200 graphics. 25-1023 Reg. sep. items 2168.00... **sale 1699.00** CM-11 colour monitor, 13" screen displays 80 x 25 text, 640 x 200 graphics. 25-1024 Reg. sep. items 2398.00... **sale 1899.00**

Sale prices expire May 31, 1987

TANDY COMPUTERS

...clearly superior

FROM RADIO SHACK DIVISION • INTERCOM CANADA LTD.

BOOKS

Mother of obsession

ANYWHERE BUT HERE

By Mona Simpson
(Random House, 304 pages, \$27.75)

Of the parental passions, mother love is the least rational and the most possessive. *Anywhere But Here* is a book examined, so clearly and painfully, the intense feelings shared by mother and daughter so has author Mona Simpson in her gorgeously moving first novel. *Anywhere But Here* is the self-deluding mother of Ann (the book's main first-person narrator), and she clings to her daughter like a leech. Ann wants to escape, but knows no other emotional haven. Simpson's novel is long and tends to ramble—but that is the price of its complexity.

The characters are so finely drawn that they can almost be smelled and touched. Above all there is Ann, who "was never all there." She will go to any lengths to create a better life for her daughter than the one they live in Bay City, Wis. Leaving the rest of her family and the memory of two ex-husbands behind, Ann drives Ann to California in the hopes of making her daughter a child to star. But as time goes by, her dreams give way to the disappointments of reality. Ann watches fearfully as Ann's attempts to cash in on the American Dream become ever more desperate. But while Ann knows she must estimate herself from her mother's unhealthy grasp, leaving her is like a form of self-mutilation.

Simpson writes thoughtfully and often with a stunning simplicity. Those parts of the novel viewed through the eyes of Ann as a child have a sweet poignancy: "I thought married people had babies by somehow pressing their chests together so their souls touched."

In a particularly brilliant stroke, Simpson has Ann's grandmother and Carol, her aunt, address the reader in the first person to tell their alarm-raising Ann's heartbreaking version for the last five pages. *Anywhere But Here's* title comes from the poet Ralph Waldo Emerson, who described a disaffected traveller saying at such new destinations, "anywhere but here." As with parental love, there was always a restless expectation of more.

—LAWRENCE O'TOOLE

Oh, Charles,
the bracelet wasn't necessary.

COURVOISIER

COGNAC

Le Cognac de Napoléon

COURVOISIER

LE COGNAC DES COGNACS

Riddle of the sands

POE
By J.M. Coetzee
(Shedden, 357 pages, \$16.95)

The tale of the shipwrecked author named Robinson Crusoe and his sole companion and servant, Man Friday, has fascinated Western imaginations ever since English novelist Daniel Defoe wrote *The Life and Strange Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe* in 1719. Crusoe's effort to create a miniature civilization on his tropical island has become an archetype of man-faces-to-nature, with offshoots in South African novelist J.M. Coetzee, winner of the 1983 Booker Prize for *Life and Times of Michael K*, is not the first writer to retell the Crusoe story, but he may be the most ingenious. His new novel, *Poe*, retells incidents from Defoe's original text—with a distinctively modern perspective.



Coetzee ingenious

The most fundamental of Coetzee's changes is the introduction of Susan Barton, a third castaway who arrives to an island where Coetzee's Crusoe was shipwrecked 15 years earlier. Susan, who assumes most of Poe's legs to travel, but Crusoe loves his isolated realm and dreads the prospect of rescue. After a British ship arrives by chance, Crusoe falls ill and dies at sea. The task of caring for his servant falls to Susan. And reading the commercial potential of her strange adventures, she seeks out a London author called Daniel Poe (Poe was the original family name of Daniel Defoe). In Coetzee's stylish and chilling tale, Susan wants Poe to write her version of events—but Poe has another plan in mind.

On the surface, *Poe* appears to be a violent departure from Coetzee's earlier novels, which had deep South African roots. The link between his previous

fiction and *Poe* is his constant attention to the realities of fate. As Crusoe coldly asks, "If Providence were to watch over all of us, who would be left to pick the cotton and cut the sugar-cane?" The most haunting character in *Poe* is the black servant whom Crusoe calls Friday. He is not, as in Defoe's original novel, a young savage who speaks pidgin English, but rather a mute English. Some time in the past, Friday's tongue was mutilated, leaving him as an eloquent example of the silence of the oppressed. Coetzee allows Daniel Poe to express his own challenge: "We must make Friday's silence speak."

Coetzee is a professor of literature as well as a novelist, and sometimes his critical training is all too clear. He writes with an immense but often brittle cleverness. By shyly introducing characters from Defoe's other novels, especially the Hottentotten, Coetzee heightens the quality of intellectual puzzle and throws the straightforward opening of *Poe* into doubt. But some of his literary tricks pull the novel's emotional punch. Poe demonstrates Coetzee's sympathy for victims of power. He writes beautifully, however, when he is an inventor and not a professor.

—MARK ARLEY

THEATRE

The hinterland players

A part from air travel, the only way to get from Kuchichewan to Port Albany—two Cree Indian villages on the western shore of James Bay—is by snowmobile in winter or by boat in summer. But for a

along the Albany River. Usually, the river is still frozen solid in late March, but this year mild weather melted the ice whitens. In the midst of flat, open wilderness marked by scrubby conifers, one snowmobile is bogged down. Hopping



SALEBY

Saskatchewan Theatre Centre Touring Company: people, parks

any hinterland theatre troupe, that logistical problem posed only a minor difficulty. Earlier this spring two snowmobiles rumbled out of Kuchichewan leaving plywood sleds containing the props, luggage and the parka-clad personnel of the Saskatchewan Theatre Centre Touring Company. Like other children's theatre ensembles touring the north, the troupe spreads the magic of live drama far beyond the beaten track.

The four-member troupe faced a bone-breaking 60-minute ride

out, the passengers felt the ice give slightly. Glancing at the water rushing over his toes, artistic director Larry Aubrey said, "This I mention that this ice is really three feet thick!" Fortunately, it was—and moments later, the group sped off toward Port Albany.

The Saskatchewan Theatre Centre Touring Company is the only professional troupe covering the James Bay region. But it has counterparts across Canada. Vancouver's Green Thumb Players regularly visit northern British Columbia, while Newfoundland's St. John's Festival Theatre in the St. John's school to support audiences. In between, the Regina-based Globe Theatre School Tour Company makes its way to "every little back town in Saskatchewan you have never heard of," says publicist Doris Parker.

These tours—most of them heavily funded by provincial and federal government agencies—bring a rare taste of southern Canadian culture to wilderness and rural communities. Said Don Cameron, director of the Kenora-based community relations branch of the ministry of northern development and mines—a major sponsor of the Saskatchewan group tour: "We give communities what they ask for rather than try to culturally imprint on northerners—native or non-native."

MUSCLE. BOUND.

Imagine gradually losing control of your muscles. Your breathing becomes laboured for lack of chest strength. Arms, legs, hands, and feet gradually refuse to respond. You have to get used to crutches or leg braces, maybe even a wheelchair.

This is Muscular Dystrophy. Any muscle in the human body is its target. Those who have Muscular Dystrophy live for the day they will be free. Free to pursue the simple things in life that we sometimes take for granted: an early morning run, a ski trip, a walk along the beach. For those who have Muscular Dystrophy, their dream is our reality.

We can make their dream come true. If you provide the muscle, we're bound to cure Muscular Dystrophy. Please give where you see the Muscular Dystrophy Donation Boxes, or you may send a cheque directly to: suite 100A, 357 Bay St., Toronto, Ontario M5H 2T7.

MUSCULAR

Donation Boxes

ENTREE Gold

A HOTEL WITHIN A HOTEL

Entree Gold gives you the privacy, comfort and atmosphere of a small residential hotel. Each Entree Gold floor has a limited number of rooms with exceptional services, amenities and furnishings. Entree Gold is available in Hotel Vancouver in Vancouver, L'Hotel in Toronto, The Chateau Laurier in Ottawa and The Queen Elizabeth Hotel in Montreal.

Our World's finest service is also available in our Business Class service. Entree Select is our most exclusive private room. Entree Personal Concierge. Hands long and feet close to your favourite destination.

Our food is prepared with the finest Canadian ingredients to be sure to please.

CN Hotels

We're changing.

THE SATISFACTION OF SELECTING ONLY THE BEST



Vancouver: Hotel Vancouver • Toronto: Argent Park Lodge • Edmonton: Hotel Macdonald (HMA) • Calgary: Elbow • C.N. Royal Victoria • Ottawa: L'Hotel • The Hotel Chateau • Montreal: The Hotel Chateau • Quebec: The Hotel Chateau • Vancouver: World Executive • Halifax: Grand Hotel • St. John's: Grand Newfoundland • Fort. Fraser: Hotel Fort Fraser

For reservations or further information call in Toronto at 977-9000 toll-free 1-800-368-9111 or your local Agents

RABIN, BUDDEN
CAPITAL FUND
+19.5%
March 31, 1987

"DON'T CONFUSE A BULL MARKET WITH BRAINS"

RABIN, BUDDEN
CAPITAL FUND
+78.6%
March 31, 1987

While we are pleased with the results our funds have achieved to date, we are mindful that this is a classic bull market.

Japanese and other foreign investors are recycling some of their motiveless trade surpluses and pent-up savings into Canadian stocks. Individual Canadians, frustrated by declining interest rates, are increasing their holdings of equities. Canadian pension funds, seeking an alternative to fixed income investments, are directing a greater portion of their assets to Canadian stocks. Mutual funds full to the brim with record RSP contributions are searching for stocks to buy.

Consequently, we believe that quality Canadian stocks will con-

tinue to provide above average returns for the balance of 1987.

Japanese and European investors are developing a healthy appetite for gold as an alternative to their topping domestic stock markets. Gold is cheaper for them because their currencies are so strong relative to the American dollar.

The Rabin-Budden-Capital Fund has invested in gold bullion not only because of its merits as an inflation hedge but also because it is relatively cheap compared to owning gold shares.

We are mindful that our first responsibility is to preserve our unit holders' capital. If we determine that the fundamentals are changing, we will reevaluate our cash position.

In 1985 Aubrey took the three-year-old Sudbury-based group on its first visit to Attawapiskat, Kashechewan and Fort Albany. This spring he led a completely new troupe consisting of actors Alan Brown and Yared Daniel and stage manager John Beverly Wilson. For Toronto residents Brown, Daniel and Wilson, the James Bay area was starkly unfamiliar. Most residents live in small wooden houses without plumbing. The nearest high schools are several hundred kilometres away. And a dozen oranges at the local Bay grocery store cost \$4.99.

The most hectic day of the 1987 northern tour began with a 9 a.m. performance at Kashechewan's modest St. Andrew's School. Most of its 389 students in kindergarten to Grade 8 removed their muddy boots and fled into the gymnasium, but a few had already left with their parents on the semi-trailered buses. "I'm winning his audience," Aubrey said in Cree. "We are very happy to be here."

After the giggling at his incoherent pronunciation died down, Brown and Daniel swooped through *Tupelo/Beswele*, a fast-paced two-part sketch that the company had constructed from playwrights David S. Craig and Robert Martin. Although most James Bay children speak only Cree when they start school, even the youngest spectators seemed to grasp the farcical story of an anglophone and a francophone who quarrel over language. They responded to the action with gleeful laughter.

When the performance was over and the children had stopped screaming around the actors, the company rolled up its scenery backdrop and made the 20-km overland journey to St. Anne's School in Fort Albany. There, it raised its set in the school's dilapidated former chapel. Again, children squealed and gaped at the voices of the two actors. Later that afternoon at the Fort Albany airstrip, the troupe boarded a plane for Mooseonee. The company is currently leaving Sudbury and North Bay and will be travelling until May 25.

For groups like the Sudbury Theatre Company, taking the show on the road can mean sleeping on cots in church basements, waiting out storms and travelling in bitter cold. But Aubrey, far from being that he feels the responsibility of his young northern audiences gratifying. "Their response is more visceral and direct," he added. "In a way it seems more sincere." Sharing the spell of the stage with young audiences, Aubrey and his colleagues thrive in the swirl of the grassroots—and the rear of the snowmobile.

—PAMELA YOUNG in Kashechewan

21 of my favourite things.

Roller skating to work
Roller skating from work
Guessing people's ages
Smokeless ashtrays
They make great gifts and even greater hugs
Girl Talk. Boy Talk
Ice cream. Ra
Tanning
Letters from my listening to new music on
Big Trees
Walter. Chocolate
Watching Soaps all
Old Clothing Store
Driving around
Waking up
a work
reality
Watching
Twenty



It's time for 21. The delicious, new class of moscato comes with a light-hearted, spirited wine taste. 17% alcohol by volume. Have it your way today!

21. The Casual Cream.

"In an era when most mutual fund sales are commission-driven, you have the option to purchase the Rabin-Budden funds on a basis that is commission-free directly from the fund manager."

Colin Wilson

Director

John Budden

John Budden

Rabin, Budden Funds are No-load, RSP and Pension Eligible

The primary objective of the Rabin, Budden Capital Fund is accumulation of capital over the long run. The fund has grown +78.6% for the 15 month period ending March 31, 1987.

The goal of the Rabin-Budden Income Fund is to provide security plus growth. The fund has gained +16.4% for the 15 month period ending March 31, 1987.

For all information, including our annual and quarterly reports and prospectus, call directly

416-865-1722

or write to: Rabin-Budden Group of Funds, 360 Bay Street, Suite 1600, Toronto, Ontario M5H 2Y2

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY

PROVINCE

POSTAL CODE

RABIN, BUDDEN
GROUP OF FUNDS

Member of the Investment Council of Canada

See qualified broker in Quebec

Toronto
Sudbury
Sarnia
Oshawa
Mississauga
Brampton
Richmond Hill
Markham
Oakville
Burlington
Hamilton
Windsor
London
Kitchener
Waterloo
Guelph
Brantford
Shelburne
St. Catharines
Niagara Falls
Buffalo, NY

CANADA'S WINEY NEWSMAGAZINE
Macleans

is available on
35mm microfilm and microfiche.

For information contact:
Macleans Hunter Micropublishing
4601 Yonge Street, Toronto, Ont., M2N 5L9
(416) 221-1657



**A WARM WELCOME
FOR DUJARDIN V.S.O.P.**

Welcome the smooth rich
flavour of one of Europe's finest brandies
Manufactured to perfection in genuine
Limousin barrels, Dujardin V.S.O.P.
is a product of excellent taste and quality.
A welcome addition for
those who enjoy a better brandy.



NATURE

Saving the pandas

For the 1,184,998 visitors who thronged to the special pen at the Metropolitan Toronto Zoo in 1985, it was a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity. For four months the zoo was a temporary home to Quan Quan and Qing Qing. But the fatty black-and-white giant pandas seemed oblivious to their own celebrity. Two is a declining population estimated to be less than 1,000; their natural habitat had shrunk to a small area in China's Sichuan province. In March, despite a seven-year conservation effort, the Swiss-based World Wildlife Fund sounded a renewed alarm in a report that stated that the giant panda would become extinct in the 21st century if its habitat was not preserved. Said Metro Zoo spokesman Toby Styles: "If we want our grandchildren to see a panda, we better do something."

Pandas have enjoyed popularity for decades, but public awareness of their increasing rarity is recent. The 300-lb animals travel alone, and the female is in heat for only three days a year—making mating in captivity difficult to plan. Although pandas are capable of eating a varied diet, including meat, they have evolved only on bamboo for centuries, despite the fact that they must eat as much as 50 lb. of the plant a day to obtain adequate nourishment. When an entire grove of bamboo is their native region dies off—as happened most recently in 1980—dozens of pandas can starve. Their precarious existence is further threatened by encroaching cultivation by farmers and poachers whose traps, although not for other animals, regularly kill pandas.

Conservationists around the world—including Britain's Prince Philip—have increased their efforts to help save the unique animals. In 1985 Toronto's Metro Zoo donated \$150,000 in proceeds from the panda visit to the China Wildlife Conservation Association. And last August Toronto's Quan Quan shed a cub in Wujiang, the largest of China's 12 panda reserves, signalling hopes for the successful breeding of pandas in captivity. But the cost of relocating females away from the panda's wilderness is high, and jail terms for killing pandas have not prevented poaching accidents. For concerned conservationists worldwide, the battle for the lovable panda is still a losing one.

—JULIA BENNETT in Toronto

SHOCK TALK FOR CYCLISTS.



Shock Treatment: Spenco®

Prolonged riding can lead to soreness, numbness, and chafing. The SPENCO® BIOSOFT® saddle pad, with its unique polymer layer, helps evenly distribute joint and vibrations over the long stretch.

Road shock can result in hand numbness, tendon damage, even partial paralysis. SPENCO® gloves, handlebar grips and brake lever pads cushion all the nerves leading into the palm area, shielding you from contact.

**Shock Treatment: SPENCO
Cycling Accessories**

From the polymer padding in our gloves and saddle pads to the injection technology of our grips and lever pads, SPENCO optimizes high performance shock absorption. Technology working to keep you in the saddle. Endorsed by champions, enjoyed by amateurs—the SPENCO name is synonymous with comfortable cycling.



SPENCO® products.
We give your body a sporting chance.

Our BIOSOFT® saddle pads shield you like a natural tissue, providing the ultimate in cushioned support. And the polypropylene covering ensures complete weatherproofing.



The gel padding of SPENCO gloves supplies unsurpassed palm protection. For your comfort, we use fine Italian leather with cool mesh or absorbent terry/welch nylon backs.



SPENCO grips and lever pads are made with ultra durable, lightweight neoprene injected with nitrogen bubbles—thousands of closed cells shielding you from shock.

Photo work of Steven Mottel, Chapman, Wood, Texas. Distributed in Canada by Wilbury City of Canada Limited.
Call toll-free 1-800-363-9338.

Spenco®

"Hallo? Bedankt voor het bellen."



Dial The Netherlands Saturdays for as little as \$1.50 a minute.

When you dial direct (without operator assistance) anytime on a Saturday, or weekday evenings after 5:00 p.m., you not only maintain a precious link with family and friends, you save with the lowest discount rates (even lower than Sunday rates).

Pay a little... visit home. Dial your loved ones in The Netherlands this Saturday.



FREE. For a free copy of "The World at Your Fingertips," our comprehensive, new guide on direct dialing to The Netherlands and many other countries, call toll-free anytime

1-800-561-9033.

Bell
Local Service Centre

Telelobe Canada
Long distance and international service



Parade scene from *Gardens of Stone*: an almost palpable sense of the dead

FILMS

Fighting the war at home

GARDENS OF STONE

Directed by Francis Coppola

As the Vietnam War raged into the late 1960s, the American nation resembled a family torn by dissonance. As the body count mounted, so did the protests at home. The intense emotions of that time were brilliantly captured in Nicholas Prell's *Gardens of Stone*. Now, Francis Coppola has adapted Prell's book for screen—and the result is magnificent. The film opens with a military burial in the early service Arlington National Cemetery in 1968, then flashes back to events of a year earlier. It focuses on the Old Guard—soldiers who act as presidential escort and whose duty it is to make the "legs" or berms. According to Sgt. Cliff Hazzard (James Caan), a cynical Korean War veteran, members of the Old Guard are "the toy soldiers" that death permeates their lives, as the number of victims of Vietnam rises, the Old Guard buries war on the job.

Cliff, the film's central figure, is a writer of contradictions—a gangbo professional soldier who is also well-read, collects Persian rugs and likes to cook. When Cliff learns that one of the new recruits, Jackie Willow (D.E. Sweeney), is the son of an old war buddy, he takes him under his wing. Jackie, painfully naive, believes fighting will bring him glory and that America is unbeatable. But Cliff knows better: "It's not even a war," he tells Jackie sagely. "Nothing to win

No way to win it." At the other extreme, Cliff's lover, Sam (Angela Huston), a reporter for *The Washington Post*, views the war as genocide. With Cliff moved inadvertently in the middle, *Gardens of Stone* touches the entire spectrum of feelings unleashed by Vietnam. The film is exceptionally moving despite profound differences; the characters share authentic love and friendship. Coppola has assembled a brilliant cast, headed by Caan as an intelligent, sensitive man enraged by his powerlessness in the face of tragedy. As Sam, a naturalistic woman who cannot bear children herself, Huston is deeply affecting. And newcomer Sweeney has the look of thousands of innocent youth reeling in unripe grief.

Gardens of Stone is a requiem for the human condition of ideology, a dirge sung over devastation. Coppola's earlier Vietnam War film, 1970's *Apocalypse Now*, was more grotesqued—a gaudy nightmare of hallucinatory violence. The burials in *Gardens of Stone* take place in the sunlight, when the earth is lovely, and there is an almost palpable sense of the dead and what they left behind. With a powerful subject to smother him, Coppola has returned to the mastery something of *The Godfather* and *The Godfather, Part II*. Like the novel from which it comes, *Gardens of Stone* sternly acknowledges the wounds of a nation still seeking its own peace.

—LORRENCE O'TOOLE

Cellmates in hell

THE HANOI HILLION

Directed by Lasse Chetwynd

The American soldiers who became prisoners of war in Vietnam's rat-infested jails clearly lived through a version of hell. But director and screenwriter Lasse Chetwynd has failed to dramatize their suffering effectively. Instead, *The Hanoi Hilton* is relentless in its righteous indignation over the treatment of American POWs in Vietnam, reducing all issues to black and white. North Vietnamese guards drag the captive servicemen from their filthy cells, interrogate and often torture them, then bring them back beaten and sometimes broken. Chetwynd, who wrote the screenplay for *The Apprenticeship of Duddy Kravitz*, conveys these painful patterns for two hours—with individual POWs suffering one atrocity or indignity after another—until the grumpy viewer stumbles, gratefully, out of the theater. However well-meaning, Chetwynd's work is crude and jarring, devoid of subtlety.

The movie focuses on Hanoi's Hanoi Hilton—nicknamed "The Hanoi Hilton" by captured servicemen—from the mid-1960s to the early 1970s. Lt.-Col. Williamson (Michael Moriarty), a captive army pilot, is the first victim to suffer the horrors of solitary confinement and ragged-inflicted food. But like almost every other American POW, Williamson vigorously resists his captors' attempts to break his spirit. Only Capt. Holmes (Paul Le Mat), who cooperates with the Vietnamese, toiling a willing American delegation that his treatment in Hanoi has been humane. But Holmes's motive is personal—he is seeking an early release, not peace.

More cruelly, Chetwynd wastes opportunities for emotional force. Maj. Fisher (Jeffrey Jones), in the film's one solid performance, is the only character who really works with nostalgia for his home in the United States. In the end the views are closer of each other, all imbued with the same intensely patriotic feelings. Their North Vietnamese keepers are to a man, stupidly brutal. While North Vietnamese prisons may have been as ghastly as Chetwynd suggests, *The Hanoi Hilton* remains too straightforward, as never intensely experienced. Watching the movie is like doing time.

—LORRENCE O'TOOLE



Scene from *Full Metal Jacket*; *After* (below) shows focusing on America's troubled conscience about Vietnam as well as rape

Hollywood's new vision

D avid Dwyer, New York magazine's influential film critic, sent a shock wave through Hollywood last summer with a damning indictment of American cinema headlined "Can the movies be saved?" Dwyer lamented that mainstream serious North America were offering an increasingly bleak range of options—no less revenge pictures in the *Rambo* mold, crass comedies about spoiled teenagers and special-operations extrajuggernauts. Dwyer's attack voiced a common concern. But now, less than a year later, the state of the screen has visibly changed once again. Hollywood is printing serious.

Mature movies focusing on America's troubled conscience—especially the indefinable stain left by Vietnam—are suddenly fashionable. The most obvious example: *Platoon*, a grant-free view of Vietnam that won four Oscars and has grossed more than \$100 million at the box office. *Platoon* has replaced director Francis Coppola's 1979 epic *Apocalypse Now* as the war movie to end war movies. But now Coppola has released *Gardens of Stone* (1984), which explores the Vietnamese trauma from yet another angle, that of the overseas soldiers' back home who must bury America's Vietnam dead. The battle-scarred jungles of *Platoon* send the massacred graveyards of *Gardens* from symmetrical halves of the same nightmare.

Movies with a social conscience are not new to Hollywood. From the working-class politics of 1930's *On the Waterfront* to the antiwar intrigue of 1965's *Dr. Strangelove*, filmmakers have often forged dramas from the furnace of social conflict. But the industry's political mood swings clearly mirror those of the country. And now, with scandals attacking the conservative Reagan administration, Hollywood's basic liberal instincts are reviving. A new generation of independent producers is stretching the frontiers of what is commercially viable cinema. Inspired by their mentors, studio executives have learned that social issues can be a marketable commodity. Says *Gardens* of Stone producer Michael Lytle: "The people who finance and distribute films are getting a sense of America's conscience. They're aware that today's audience wants to deal with real subjects."

No-muzzling Vietnam is now a major obsession. Veterans director Stanley Kubrick (*Dr. Strangelove*, 1964; *A Space Odyssey*) adds his gritty touch to the cinematic impact with next month's release of *Full Metal Jacket*, a story set during Hanoi's 1968 Tet Offensive. *Gardens of Stone* is a sympathetic portrait of the military as a misguided and misbegotten family business—not unlike the Mafia in Coppola's *The Godfather* films—addressing heartland America's hunger for remediation.

But Vietnam also provides a vivid metaphor for current U.S. military involvement in Central America. And the success of director Oliver Stone's *Platoon* has drawn attention to his other independently produced film, *Schindler's Ark*. After limited theatrical distribution, *Schindler's Central American* drama is now a hit as home video. Meanwhile,

Hollywood producers are now preparing new and potentially controversial movies about the conflict in Nicaragua and El Salvador.

An element of social advocacy has even begun to creep into Hollywood's more escapist fare. Last year's top-office champion, *Top Gun*, was a patriotic tribute to the school that trains the U.S. navy's fighter-pilot elite. One of this season's most popular movies,

Project X, also deals with a young recruit (Matthew Broderick) whose father is a military hero. But Broderick's character becomes a survivor for a squadron of shipwrecked sailors subjected to lethal doses of radiation. *Project X* coproducer Walter Brown did not set out to make "a message movie" about nuclear rights. "But if it brings about a residual insight of consciousness," said Parker, "it's much the better." Meanwhile, executives at Tri-



Casualties in *Gardens of Stone*; *after*

Star Pictures are releasing a new antiwar movie, *Amazing Grace* and Chaco Starring Gregory Peck, it is a fable about a young boy who is so horrified by a visit to a missile site that he goes up playing baseball to protest against nuclear weapons and triggers a global disarmament movement.

The makers of *Amazing Grace* had to build a mock missile site after the U.S. defense department refused their request to film a real one. But the U.S. army gave full cooperation to *Gardens of Stone*, its first large-scale collaboration with Hollywood since helping John Wayne dramatize Vietnam involvement in 1960's *The Green Berets*. The army generals were so pleased with Coppola's movie that they awarded him a citizen's medal. "It's a pro-army answer film," said Stephen Ronkin, who portrays a peace activist in love with a military veteran. "Attitudes in Hollywood are changing, but so is the public consciousness."

One clear sign of change is that Ed Amer is working again. In 1982 CBS killed Amer's *Love Guest* series after its sponsor complained about the actor's public stance against U.S. policy in El Salvador. An unofficial blackball, hampered Amer's career for four years. But Amer—now starring in NBC TV's drama *Beverly Hills 90210*—says Hollywood is more tolerant of U.S. foreign policy critics. And the acceptance of *Platoon*, he adds, is "a great step forward to offset the Rush to mentality."

Attempts to bring Third World struggles to the screen have found support in unlikely quarters. Richard Gere (*American Gigolo*) plans to star in a movie based on the El Salvador experiences of

history. Hollywood's rampant drama up a big-screen balance sheet of heroes and villains, saviors and victims in his filmed monologue, *Witnessing in Cambodia*, actor Spalding Gray recounts his experiences working on The Killing Fields in Thailand. He calls such movies "war theater." Hollywood might not see America of its traumatic life. But it is creating evermore advantageous forms of treatment.

—ERIN D. JOHNSON

MACLEAN'S BEST-SELLER LIST

FICTION

- 1 *Witnessing in Cambodia*, Spalding Gray (1)
- 2 *Five Things*, David (2)
- 3 *The Eyes of the Dragon*, King (3)
- 4 *Witnessing in Cambodia*, Spalding Gray (1)
- 5 *The Redemptive Way*, Delella (2)
- 6 *Witnessing in Cambodia*, Spalding Gray (1)
- 7 *Shine My Cowboy* (3)
- 8 *The Parole of 50*, Anderson (3)
- 9 *The Ladies of Woodstock*, McCallough (3)
- 10 *Witnessing in Cambodia*, Spalding Gray (1)

NONFICTION

- 1 *Close Pursuit*, Stroud (1)
- 2 *Witnessing in Cambodia*, Spalding Gray (1)
- 3 *Witnessing in Cambodia*, Spalding Gray (1)
- 4 *Witnessing in Cambodia*, Spalding Gray (1)
- 5 *Witnessing in Cambodia*, Spalding Gray (1)
- 6 *Witnessing in Cambodia*, Spalding Gray (1)
- 7 *Witnessing in Cambodia*, Spalding Gray (1)
- 8 *Witnessing in Cambodia*, Spalding Gray (1)
- 9 *Witnessing in Cambodia*, Spalding Gray (1)
- 10 *Witnessing in Cambodia*, Spalding Gray (1)

Compiled by Frances Melby



Discover Canada's Super Natural Beauty. Discover why the sunny Okanagan is the heart of British Columbia. It's not just for your weekend getaway, it's a lifestyle. The Okanagan offers you superb recreational facilities, impeccable motel services, championship golf and tennis and, in season, wine tastings you can't miss. . . all within easy reach of your home. Calgary or Edmonton.

Discover why Lake Okanagan Resorts is the best location in the Okanagan for your time. Conference, meeting or seminar. Enjoy our sun-soaked on-site state-of-the-art magnificent Okanagan Lake mansions, exquisite accommodations for groups up to 200. Relax, play tennis and complete recreational amenities. Whether your trip is for business or holiday, you'll find a world of a weekend, you'll find out why this AAAA Four Diamond Award.

For further information about special rates, room rates, reservations or meeting facilities, call or write to: Okanagan Resorts.

Open May 1st until
October 25th

Lake Okanagan Resort
Canadian Pacific Hotels

P.O. Box 1321,
Kelowna, B.C. V1Y 7V8
Telephone (604) 760-3311
Telex 046-5206
Reservations 1-800-268-9411

PARTNERS IN TOURISM

© 1984 and 1985 Okanagan Resorts Ltd. All Rights Reserved.
Okanagan Resorts Ltd. is a member of the Okanagan Resorts Ltd.

The humiliating cost of health

By Allan Fotheringham

We all have exaggerated opinions of our own worth in the great scheme of things, our sweet person in the framework. There is a general consensus that each one of us is unique, God's own creation, with the mould thrown away afterwards. It is the only way one survives, I suppose, wrapped in the knowledge that the world needs us.

If so, we need only encounter the American medical system. All pulled-up beliefs in one's uniqueness vanish, as weeks before the play *One is not in one's place* we are all but a small ball of pus in the great wheel of life. It stragglers out one's philosophy, aspects metaphysical, insights into one's mental processes and makes clear what before was only mystery.

The lesson comes when two major events coincide in the centre of the universe, otherwise known as Washington, D.C. Not the nuclear disarmament talks, you feel. Not a breakthrough in the free trade barometer, not a new accord on and runs. It is true, one's barometer informs us for the national reputation of the car. It is also true, the doc tells me, for the annual refilling of the pistons and loose door hinges in the old bod. A fall physical, about as much fun as a conventional of opportunity. Hilda's, a week filled with pleasantness.

The car makes it through the re-inspection process, the safety inspection, the street parking permits (receiving proof of your lease on your property). A little toying up of signed parking tickets and we are up with a bill of \$600 for a day's wrestling with stiffer bureaucracy. Not the end of the world.

The doc is a different matter. A test of the old ticker Chest X-ray. Blood test. Things are tagged into prebored and prodded. Ralph Nader himself could not have been more thorough. Unwanted objects are stuck up accessory places. The whole thing takes just one hour and then this exemplar of North American mediocrity, this grand-alias Fotheringham is a coherent person. *Southern News*.

out of the Charles Atlas school of beach etiquette, is directed to the check-out counter in American medicine. It's cash on the barrelhead. You don't get out of the waiting room until you lay down either dollars or plastic. For the one hour's prodding \$50 bucks, thank you sweet lady.

An astounded, this puts everything into perspective. I've always thought of my body as a temple, which is the reason I take such good care of it (eating only organic meats, so as to keep fit). After going through this arrangement, it is clear my body is not a temple. It is



merely a bag of groceries. I watched as dishevelled as the young, hard body at the till punched up lungs. Heart. Blood pressure. Urine sample. Unlimited ab up unnecessary pains. Sky ah. There, before my eyes, I was reduced to soup. Cabbage. Cornflakes. Peanut butter. Bacon. Fishings. That bank was not God's creation at all. It was merely a collection of phosphates, calcium, carbohydrates and mystery bits. I no longer felt like Charles Atlas. I felt like Suffering.

The American attitude toward health, this being the home of free enterprise, is very much like the American attitude toward Wall Street. It's all a gamble, and those who are lucky make a million and the hell with the rest. The United States, richest nation since the question of the snake and the apple, remains the only advanced country in the world without a full healthcare system. Resources stretched meagre to Germans in 1972 and here we are in 1987 and the Americans still

nervously regard any move toward "a national medicine" as the first step on the slippery slope to desecrated commonness.

And so we have the check-out counter. Health is a commodity to be purchased, like sausages and eggs. If you can't afford sausages, eat grass! It's a quick lesson in free enterprise, which, as someone remarked, is neither enterprising nor free. Ask the American auto industry.

The week-end fall of the horse stables of Desjardins (Canadian apartment for one, members of the Prime Minister's staff for another) who have been stricken while in the United States and have to rearrange the barn to get themselves out of the hospital check-out counter. No cheque, no check-out. Congress is now struggling with a "catastrophic illness" bill that would reimburse some families for illnesses and major operations that at the moment put many citizens in debt for life.

The thinking, muddled with grief, apparently is that what is catastrophic for you may not be catastrophic for me. Where do you draw the line? The Americans will do anything but admit that health care is a right, not a privilege. It's a \$500-an-hour privilege.

Living in this ambience, your blinking agent now knows how his aging blatted body in a new light. Now that it costs as much to maintain as a weekly trip to the supermarket, it is regarded as a precious commodity, clearly a waste to bankruptcy if not taken care of properly. I now look both directions carefully before jumping a one-way street. Warm up ever so carefully before taking my Porsche Gaudin's more onto the ocean coast. Do not use the pay phone in any area of the city with a high auto count. One cannot be too careful when your body is no longer a temple, merely a bank account.

Told to hop onto doctor's examination table, I placed my foot on a stool for support. "Don't do that!" he yelled. "That's get wheels on it." You'd see me for malpractice. If you really want to know, I much prefer the auto inspection route.



Ramada Fallsview Business with Pleasure



Typically untypical

The Ramada Hotel Fallsview has just what you expect, quality meeting spaces for groups of 30-350, well appointed rooms, excellent dining and friendly well-trained staff.

But Ramada Fallsview also has the unexpected - recreational facilities that are simply spectacular. Racquetball and squash courts that can be viewed from a beautiful skylin atrium, with an uncommonly large swimming pool and whirlpool. On a lower level you will find a well equipped gym and exercise rooms, sauna, arcade and billiards room.

At Ramada we believe that each of our Inns and Hotels should be special. Each has its own refreshing differences, its own distinctive pleasures for you to discover.

Across Canada you can rely on each Ramada being able, and being different. And you can rely on Ramada to give you more for less.

NEXT TIME, RAMADA
HOTELS AND RESORTS

Ramada Renaissance Hotels:

Vancouver, Edmonton, Saskatoon and Toronto

Ramada Inns and Hotels:

Ottawa: Toronto Don Valley, Toronto Downtown, Toronto Airport, Toronto 400-AOL, Niagara Falls, London, Toronto, Belleville, Kingston, North Bay, Timmins, Sudb. Str. Maria and Thunder Bay

Quebec: Montreal Airport, Montreal Downtown, Montreal Olympic Park, Montreal Decarie, Hull/Gatineau and Quebec City (St. Foy)

New Smyrna, Sydney (November 1987)

Montreal: Winnipeg

Alberta: Fort McMurray

Reservations: Call Toll Free 1-800-455-2833

In Canada 1-800-268-6993

In the U.S.A. 1-800-270-6232

or call your Travel Agent

Northern Telecom has 24 manufacturing plants and 21 research and development centres in Canada. We employ over 21,000 people. Highly skilled people pulling together to produce an ever-expanding variety of products for advanced communications networks. Dedicated people ensuring that you will be able to communicate more effectively now...and in the future.



NETWORKING